

The Historical Outlook

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Italy Since the Great War

BY PROFESSOR PAUL V. B. JONES, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

On October 31, 1922, democratic government ceased to exist in Italy, when Benito Mussolini, a man then almost unknown beyond the borders of his home land, riveted a drastic dictatorship upon the ruins of constitutionalism, or, as that temperamental actor himself might have phrased it, upon the grave of the Goddess of Liberty, for whose decomposed body—the adjective is his own—he had just celebrated appropriate, though long-delayed obsequies, with full military honors.

An amazing event, this achievement. Indeed, the most significant event, many affirm, in post-war Italian history, though that remains to be seen. And almost equally astonishing, the enthusiastic approbation of Mussolini in the rôle of undertaker to the nation's defunct government, voiced by thousands of his countrymen, and other thousands over the western world, worshippers, all of them, presumably, at the shrine of this same Goddess of Liberty now so effectively buried in Italy, the very birthplace of democracy.

What does it all mean? Obviously, no really satisfactory explanation of this catastrophic development can as yet be forthcoming. The very immediacy, so to speak, of the revolution, for such it has been, makes a picture all highlight and shadow, utterly without perspective; a picture the details of which are further obscured by the brilliant camouflage of a vigorous propaganda, the close screenings of a most perfect censorship, and the willful or ignorant distortion of travelers, journalists and others. A hopeless exhibit, it would appear, yet not entirely so either, if one ceases to strive for the unattainable; and seeks rather but to apprehend the significance of this intricate, tangled and much obscured story.

Certainly this dictatorship did not come unheralded like a bolt from the blue! Bloodless the revolution which established it has been called, ironically perhaps, because at its climax, there was no blood left in the mangled remains of Mussolini's opponents. But the earlier acts of the great drama—blood enough there,—fire and destruction enough too, even for Italy, with her abiding predilection for extremes of violence. A revolution in short, with its "Reign of Terror" first. And so what of these earlier acts which culminated peacefully, after the storm, in the mere resignation of one Prime Minister, and the summoning of another? These beginnings carry one back to the war, and more particularly to the armistice

and treaty periods, when certain phenomena were already manifesting themselves, which were directly responsible for the dictator's advent.

The whole world remembers only too well that Italy went into the war primarily to satisfy what she called her "national aspirations." In the last analysis this amounted to securing Italian supremacy in the Adriatic Sea, and, with such intent, Italy, in 1915, signed the now notorious "Secret Treaty of London" with the Entente Powers, agreeing to fight against her Allies, the Central Empires—her reward, in the event of victory, to be an important extension of the Italian frontier in the north and northeast, securing thereby a most generous "redeemed Italy," and a further grip on the Adriatic to be established through control of the Dalmatian coast. Democracy with a vengeance, under Italian auspices, say Italy's critics. But every whit as defensible, retort the Italian nationalists, as the equally democratic objectives of Italy's European associates in the great struggle, and very much more necessary.

The war nearly cost the life of the nation. Italians recall the dark hours of Caporetto with a shudder. There was heroic retrieval, however, and finally, in the awful collapse of the Dual-Monarchy, a stunning victory for the Italians, in their sector; a victory much more dramatic and tangible, than was obtainable on the western front, where Ludendorff was able to execute what the experts have declared was a last great triumph even in defeat, namely, the masterly withdrawal of his armies in France and Belgium. There were no stupendous scoops of vast hordes of enervated vanquished there.

EFFECT OF THE WAR TRIUMPH UPON ITALY

But, in the very fullness of her triumph lay the seeds of much of Italy's future woe. Had there been no such triumph, wellnigh demoralizing in its completeness, the Italian nationalists, mainly responsible for the country's belligerency, but pitifully chastened by the ghastly realities of war, must certainly have compromised on the settlement of their claims in the Adriatic. But what happened! Exhilarated by active participation in the Austro-Hungarian debacle, these same nationalists not only refused to relax on those claims, but vociferously cried for their extension. Hadn't Italy saved the Entente and won the war? The Port of Fiume, assigned to Croatia by the Secret Treaty of London, was meagre recompense for the country's sacrifice and splendid effort. Such was their contention.

Here was a pass indeed. And the disposition of Fiume forthwith became one of the most difficult problems before the Peace Conference, if not the very thorniest in that bewildering Pandora's box opened in Paris. Could Italy's extremest claims have been satisfied at the expense of the enemy powers, presumably there would not have been so much trouble, judging by what happened in the southern Tyrol, where the Italian boundary was extended to the Brenner Pass, giving Italy four thousand square miles of Austrian territory, in about half of which was a homogeneous population of Tyrolese some two hundred thousand strong.

Unfortunately for Italy, however, her desire for Adriatic dominance ran exactly counter to other nationalistic ambitions as fully aroused as were her own. The Southern Slavs, bitter enemies of the Dual Monarchy, were now, after the war, forming into a nation, and never, with peace of mind, could they tolerate Italy's Adriatic project. The Treaty of London was bad enough, but give Italy Fiume into the bargain! that were ruin for these unfortunate people, and forthwith, exhausted as they were by active participation in the great war, they prepared afresh to fight the new enemy.

That the Southern Slavs had neither to fight Italy nor relinquish Fiume, their one available port, was due entirely to the work of President Wilson at the Conference. Mr. Wilson refused absolutely to yield to Italy's demand for the town, even if such resistance entailed the break-up of the Conference and the ruin of the peace treaty, as, indeed, it threatened to do.

The further story of the bitterly fought Fiume issue is not essential here. It will suffice to note features only of the struggle. In substance the situation was this: Triumphant Italian nationalism demanded Fiume at any price, and America, the strongest power at the Conference table, flatly refused to concede to that demand. What was an Italian Government to do under such hard circumstances? No allied state was at any time after the war faced with an uglier dilemma.

The white heat intensity of Italian nationalist feeling presently secured dramatic exposition in the thrilling exploit, in September of 1919, of Italy's poet-patriot, Gabrielle D'Annunzio, who, with a band of ardent enthusiasts, flung himself into the wretched little port town, and for fifteen months effectively defied any power on earth to oust him. Particularly, however, did D'Annunzio throw down his gauntlet to the Italian Government, against which he declared war.

That the Italian Government was able to avert civil war, dislodge its over-zealous citizen-traitor from Fiume, and sign with Jugo-Slavia the Treaty of Rapallo, which made Fiume into a Free State—well! to say the least of such work is to admit that it resembles achievement; achievement, indeed, which should give earnest pause to that whole school of

critics, the burden of whose plaint is ever the pitiful impotence of Italy's post-war régime. Likely enough the future historian of this hot period will regard the Treaty of Rapallo as at once the triumph of Giolitti's statesmanship, and one of the sanest pieces of war claim adjudication, all things considered, which the world has seen.

Unfortunately, however, there was little place for moderation of this sort in the eyes of the tempestuous Italian nationalists. Indeed, now thoroughly embittered, they seized upon Rapallo as the strongest evidence of their contention, namely, that the flaccid Italian Government was weakly signing away all for which the nation's heroes had fought and died. And, such is the irony of Fate, in its Fiume settlement, the Government constructed one of the strongest bulwarks behind which the rebellious nationalists now entrenched themselves for their fight against that Government, as will be manifest in the sequel.

NATIONALISTS ATTACK THE LABOR POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

Had there been no other indictment of the Government by the nationalists, however, than this for which they condemned it, namely, its yielding foreign policy, of the entirety of which Rapallo was to them illustrative, presumably Mussolini might have lived and died unknown outside of Italy. But other indictment was not wanting, and at least one other serious arraignment of the State must be noted here, namely, its policy with reference to labor after the armistice, which was vigorously condemned, and this time the vindictive accusation of the nationalists rang round the world. Labor, they affirmed, industrial and agrarian alike, was Bolshevik, and the silly State sat idly by the wayside watching the proletarian rabble marching to glory. Nay, worse, cheering the while.

What was the foundation for this alarming estimate of conditions? What was labor really doing? Here again are superb problems for the future historian, tantalizing though at the present, beyond compare, so few are the available facts, and so obscured the data at hand by the murky smoke-screen of the propagandist.

Suffice it to say that enough evidence of the real state of affairs is today obtainable to make any candid student gravely suspect that the awful characterization of industrial life in Italy previous to the advent of that Herculean and perfect Roman Mussolini, is somewhat overdone. Bad enough, conditions were, to be sure—but Bolshevik? hardly, as Lenin and his friends in Italy and Russia both discovered to their sorrow.

The Bolshevik accusation against labor rests principally on two developments maturing in Italy in 1919 and 1920, in the so-called "factory seizures" by the workmen on the one hand, and the so-called "land seizures" by the peasants on the other. Some explanation of these strategic episodes must be here attempted despite difficulties.

CONDITION OF INDUSTRIAL LABORERS

A desperate situation confronted the industrial laborer in Italy after the armistice. During the war, industry to a greater degree than in other countries, had been overdeveloped to meet the vast military exigencies. Money ran like water. Wage demands were readily met—Government contracts made easy fat returns with no questions asked. And all manner of roseate talk about a veritable halcyon day of jubilee and labor triumph—the ultimate reward for his utmost effort—was poured into the buzzing ear of the worker—pictures like the vivid conceptions of a Mohammedan paradise glancing before the eager eye of the warring devotees of the Prophet! Alas! apples of Sodom stuffed with bitter ashes, those same promises, as the workers discovered to their dismay, when the struggle towards "normaleys" set in after the armistice. Government contracts fell off. Men flocked back from the front. Markets collapsed, and the very essentials even of industrial life—coal and iron—always imported in Italy, were unobtainable except in small quantities. Prices soared. The worker's disillusionment, finally complete, naturally took time to mature. At first he simply refused to believe the facts. War profiteers—"sharks" the Italians called them—were flaunting their vulgar opulence shamelessly; the worker knew where the real trouble lay—as usual, the employers were hoodwinking again, and labor was in no mood for such trifling. The old battle was on with a vengeance. In August of 1920 the metallurgical workers, poor deluded simpletons, asked the Employers' Association for a wage increase,¹ which was promptly met with a flat refusal, and to bring matters to a quick showdown, the Employers' Association further decided (against the advice of Premier Giolitti, be it noted) to declare a lock-out. Then the sky fell. The workers, instead of striking, which they knew would avail them nothing under the circumstances, "occupied," not "seized" the factories, keeping the technical staffs on wherever possible and the industries running, with stringent regulation against sabotage of any kind. This untoward and very aggressive step was taken to defend, as they said, their right to work, and to secure a "controllo," as they called it, in industry. Now, by the expression "controllo" the workers did not mean a control of industry as has been said, but rather some form of co-operation or collaboration, some "say" or voice in the management of industry for themselves. This is apparent from the program which they formulated, and an acceptance of which by their employers they insisted upon as the price of their evacuation of the factories. After examining the problem of production in Italy they concluded that the relation between employees and employers must be modified so that the workers be "...in a position to know the real state of their industry, to be acquainted with its technical and financial workings and be able through factory dele-

gations to co-operate in applying factory regulations, to co-operate in the appointment and dismissal of employees, and thus to inspire the normal life of the factory with the necessary discipline." All this to the end that there be "...increased output so an equilibrium be reached between demand, enormously increased since the war by new living conditions, and supply, decreased by conditions growing out of the war; in order to reduce imports, and thus hasten the re-establishment of normal exchange; in order to prevent ignorance of industrial conditions, affording opportunity to employers on the one hand, of making unchecked statements, and to the workers on the other of advancing impossible claims for the improvement of conditions." Thus their own statement in their own language to the Government.

That the body of labor did not want Bolshevism or forced communism is again evident in a vote which was taken in Milan on September 13th, by leaders of the Italian Federation of Labor and representatives of the official Socialist Party—a vote of 591,000 against 245 for the syndicalization and not the sovietization of industry.

Furthermore, it was just at this critical juncture that labor went on the rocks politically, over the very issue again of Bolshevism. That is to say, the Socialist Party, labor's strongest political organ, now at the very height of its power with 156 Deputies in the Chamber, with 25 provinces and 2,200 communes in its grip, began to go to pieces. In January, 1921, the extremists, estimated at one-third of the party, seceded, forming the Communist Party, and in the elections in May of this same year, the Socialists lost 34 Deputies.

Withal, however, untoward conditions, these, so what of the Government's policy regarding the occupied factories? At the outset, Premier Giolitti refused to touch the issue. He maintained that it was but a new phase of the old struggle between capital and labor. Following his well established custom, therefore, the Government kept hands off, until an opportunity for conciliation might be afforded. Such an opportunity occurred in the middle of September, when the Confederation of Labor presented the workers' program, quoted above, to the Government. The Premier, thereupon, invited representatives of both parties to meet him at Turin to discuss the issue. As a result of these negotiations under Giolitti's chairmanship, a settlement was reached by September 17th. The Industrialists agreed to accept the workers' collaboration in management, and the workers voted by an overwhelming majority (127,904 vs. 44,531) to evacuate the factories. On September 19th, the Government issued a decree appointing a commission representing both parties "to formulate proposals which shall serve the Government as a basis for a bill embodying the organization of industry on the principle of the workers' intervention in technical and financial management."

In a speech before Parliament on September 27th, Giolitti explained his handling of the industrial crisis carefully. The question involved was so serious, he said, that the future of Italy was at stake. "We are face to face with a real change in the social order"; he went on, "It is useless to deny it. Every politician and statesman ought to realize this truth. The advent of the fourth estate began to be apparent towards the close of the last century, and the attempts then made to arrest its course had evil consequences; those movements are dangerous to regulate and cannot be arrested." Concluding, he said in substance, that he had advised the employers not to declare a lock-out; that they could not count on Government support. He could not prevent the occupation of the factories. It would have required all the armed forces of the State, and left the land defenseless; nor could troops have been thrown into all the factories in time to prevent bloodshed and the destruction of the factories. The Government, he promised, would weigh all advices from any quarters and would try to draft as perfect a bill as possible to lay before Parliament. The future of the country depended on the manner in which the social problem was handled.

The bills were formulated, but never got into the statute books. Mussolini and his Black Shirts prevented that. At this same time, too, these ultranationalists damned the Government out of hand again, for its failure to stay the Bolshevik avalanche.

CONDITION OF AGRICULTURAL LABORERS

What, next, of the agrarian situation? To form any conception of the land seizures, attention must first be directed to the agricultural system prevailing in south Italy particularly, where the attempts of the peasants to improve conditions were most effective. Giuseppe Prezzolini describes that system in part as follows: "In Sicily large landed property prevails. One-sixth of the island is owned by 173 people in a population of four million inhabitants; one-third is owned by 787 people. The agricultural class (750,000 people over ten years of age) possesses almost nothing. The land owners, in general, live away from their lands in the Sicilian towns, in Rome, abroad. They rent their lands to people peculiar to Sicily, called "Gabellotti," who advance them the money for the year's crops, frequently rerenting to others, who, in turn, sublet. Thus the peasant has to pay three or four middlemen. The Gabelloto is the financier of the agrarian management of the proprietor; he is usually a peasant who has grown rich, a usurer without scruples, who tries to get what profit he can from the land without improving it, not being sure of having it again, and running the risk also of losing the harvest by the frequent droughts. He employs a personnel of tyrants (rural guards, superintendents, etc.) to keep the peasant under strict

guard for fear that he should eat the seed instead of sowing it, or rob the harvest or go to work on other lands. The Gabelloto pays the master and the peasant in advance, but he cannot rob the master and he can rob the peasant; and out of the advance payments which he gives the peasant he takes from thirty to fifty per cent. interest. It is not to be wondered that the Gabelloto is the most despised and hated person in Sicily." (*N. Y. Nation*, March 2, 1921.)

The American journalist, Mr. Carleton Beals, who has resided in Italy, thus comments on the wretched lot of these hapless folk: "I have traveled in Mexico for seventy-five miles through a single hacienda; I have ridden horse-back from dawn till dark and the boundary of one man's property was still invisible beyond the horizon; I have investigated absenteeism in southwestern Spain where the back-wash of a broken Empire and the social decay of the race have left discouraged and poverty-stricken people whose diet means slow starvation; but I have nowhere seen such terrible conditions as prevail in certain parts of southern Italy. One would have to go to the Orient to find equal filth and debasement." (Beals, *Rome or Death*, 83.)

Such a situation must inevitably have developed revolt under any circumstances, but as in the case of the industrial workers, the war precipitated the movement. Many of the peasants saw service; their minds were stimulated. "...the army accustomed them to organization and discipline. It was easy for the officials who went home to find their soldiers and organize them into associations and soldiers co-operatives."

So much for the background of the peasant's revolt which culminated in the land occupations. Prezzolini, again, writes of what happened: "The seizure of the land on the part of the peasants is principally a revolt against the Gabelloto, and the occupation began with those properties administered by them.... The seizures have, indeed, taken place in a peaceful manner. Crusades of peasants from the crowded cities would leave for tenures six or eight miles away, walking in fours, preceded by their leaders and flags, sometimes red, sometimes black, sometimes tri-colored, and sometimes all three kinds. On foot and riding on mules the population would take possession of the land, planting their banners and stationing their guards there. They would go back to the land, accompanied perhaps by gendarmes who prevented disorder, but had not been able to stop the invasion, and from there they would telegraph the King or the Prefect, announcing their taking of possession, and asking for the authorization even to defend the land against the owners even by means of the gendarmes.... There has never been violence against the proprietors." (Prezzolini, *op. cit.*)

Early in August, 1920, the peasants through a provincial convention formulated their demands as follows:

- 1) Abolition of the Gabellotti.
- 2) Cession of lands to the agrarian co-operatives.
- 3) Abolition of the fixed rentals.
- 4) Determination of rentals by a commission representing renters and proprietors.

Temporary legislation by the Government validating much that the peasants had achieved was in slow, but effective transition into law, the bills having, indeed, passed the Deputies in 1922. But here again, as was the case with the industrial legislation noted above, the same vigorous nationalist reaction broke up the entire process in transit. The laws desired by practically the entire population, landowners excluded, as necessary to improve impossible agrarian conditions, crude survivals of an ancient past—these laws going through constitutionally, never materialized.

Anemic Bolshevism, it would appear, back of the factory and the land seizures, and decidedly political the blood test which revealed such an apoplectic percentage of Russian hemoglobin in the blood count of the Italian body politic! Such, however, were the principal factors in post-bellie Italian life responsible for the gestation and triumphant birth of Mussolini's revolution, which, like King Richard 3d, came into the world with a full set of teeth. Some note, therefore, of Italy's iron man is next pertinent.

MUSSOLINI AND THE FASCI

Benito Mussolini was born in 1883, the son of a smith, at whose forge the lad worked. Restless the youth was, however, and gifted, for though self-educated he managed to teach French in a secondary school, and then, amazing transition! to become an exceedingly trenchant expositor of Socialism—so very vocal indeed, that Italy's climate began to disagree with him, and he was forced to sniff the air of Switzerland, a political exile. Later incurring the wrath of the Austrian authorities as joint editor of a Socialist paper in Trent, he was again constrained to make a forced exit from the Tyrol. Back to Italy he went, to become at the age of twenty-five or thereabouts, the editor of *Avanti*, the leading Socialist paper in the country. Then came the World War, and as was the case with so many others of his kind, the young Socialist's creed failed to stand the severe test of armed strife, and Mussolini, overwhelmed by his patriotism, became an enthusiastic anti-neutralist in 1914. Read out of his party that same year, he founded the *Popolo d'Italia*, a strongly nationalistic sheet urging war, entered the service, was wounded by a gun explosion, and after convalescence resumed his editorial duties. So strong now, the man's nationalism, so scathing his denunciation of Socialism, that rumor had him subsidized by the big industrialists. Such, in summary, was the career of this extraordinary individual to 1918.

After the armistice, together with D'Annunzio and other strong nationalists, Mussolini was instrumental in organizing ex-combatants and other youths into bands, or coalitions—"fasci," as they were called, the purpose of which was to keep patriotism at white heat, and to guarantee *BY FORCE*, if necessary, the fruits of victory. Amid the harrowing demoralization in Italy after 1918, the fasci grew rapidly and gave the while vivid evidence of their purpose in sporadic, extra-legal punitive campaigns against this, that, or the other object of their suspicion. The gauge of integrity was always one-hundred-per-centism, and woe betide the wretch—German or Slav in the redeemed lands, or ordinary laborer, Socialist or Communist—who fell short of that exacting measure! Castor oil was the beverage in an allopathic "bumper" of which the sorry victim of the Fascists was commonly forced to toast the "Patria," and a pint and a half, or a quart of the nasty stuff guzzled in public was said to be very efficacious in ameliorating the most untoward symptoms. If that remedy did not kill or cure, some well-aimed mellow eggs or lush vegetables, a dexterous stroke with whip or cudgel, occasionally a pistol coyly handled—or a bomb, usually produced results.

Presently, however, came sterner work—the Fiume exploit, for example, and large scale attacks at home, carefully organized and executed against the unfortunate alien population which had to be Italianized, all labor organizations—the unions, the political parties, the co-operatives and the Catholic Church,—forces, all of them, said the Fascists, digging at the vitals of the fatherland—a campaign of violence which reached such a pitch early in 1921, that the country appeared on the brink of anarchy.

METHODS OF THE FASCI

The following description of what was happening is extracted from a speech by one of the Deputies before the Chamber "...Through village after village passed destruction, menace, terror, for all the sixty small communes of the Polesine. One by one, in the short space of three weeks, these were invaded in broad daylight by hundreds of turbulent maniacs, who beat up everyone indicated by the local agrarian proprietors as being Socialists; [they] penetrated headquarters, destroying furniture, and lugging off objects; by night, masked groups, with rifles, shot recklessly down the streets, or threw bombs, entered into the houses of members of the Municipal Councils ...a co-operative, or similar organization, and to the indescribable terror of the women and children, threatened, maltreated, extorted statements, perpetrated shameful unmentionable things, or obliged everyone to fly desperately across the fields." (Quoted in Beals, *Rome or Death*, 45.)

Investigations of Mr. Carleton Beals, made in Italy during this period, yielded the following summaries of this Fascist activity. During the first three months of 1921, in the Province of Ferrara, "occurred forty-

five Fascist sorties, featured by shootings, bomb throwing and assaults on private homes; forty-two league and three labor union headquarters valued at from two thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand lire were burned, and twenty-one radical communal administrations terrorized into resigning." In another province in the course of several months four thousand persons were violently handled and three hundred houses were burned. Up to June, 1921, the Fascists had destroyed "12 important newspapers, 26 'case del popolo,' 60 labor union headquarters, 86 co-operative businesses, 43 headquarters of peasant leagues, many employment offices, 34 Socialist headquarters, 17 schools, libraries and cultural societies, and 36 workers' cultural circles." Elections, always hectic in Italy, became veritable frays under Fascist stimulation. Thus in the elections of May, 1921, 200 persons lost their lives, and 5,000 were seriously wounded. (Beals, *Rome or Death*, 45-60.)

Fascism, indeed, through these months, was plainly developing new tendencies. The proprietary classes, more particularly the industrialists and the land-owners, fearful of their well-being because of labor's activities, were giving effective support, moral and financial, to the movement which was now rapidly growing into an alert middle-class reaction, and already at the end of 1920 even, ominous forecast of events, there was much talk in Italy of an impending coup d'état to culminate, perchance, in a military dictatorship!

THE FASCI IN POLITICS

Such a climax to the turmoil appeared averted, however, by the fall of the following year, when Fascism, then largely under Mussolini's direction, entered the political field with a party organization and a platform of its own. On the other hand, significant, indeed, was the Fascist Militia, the "right hand," so-called, of the Party—an amazing military machine, fully articulated and highly trained, with its elaborate organization, nomenclature, salute, battle-cry, insignia and all, borrowed from ancient Rome!

In the formidable "Disciplinary Regulation for the Fascist Militia," promulgated by the General Command of the Party in October, 1922, one reads in part as follows:

- 1) The Fascist Party is always a Militia.
 - 2) The Fascist militia is at the service of God and the Italian nation and gives the following oath:
- "In the name of God and of Italy, in the name of all those who have fallen in battle for the greatness of Italy, I swear to consecrate myself exclusively and unceasingly for Italy's good."
- 5) The Fascist soldier knows only duty. His only right is to fulfill his duty and enjoy it.
 - 6) Whether officer or soldier he must obey with humility and command with force. Obedience in this voluntary militia shall be "blind, absolute and respect-

ful up to the highest step in the hierarchy, the Supreme Head and the executive committee of the party."²

With such an organization at his disposal, numbering in its ranks many thousands of young men from twenty to twenty-five years of age, Mussolini, towards the latter part of the year 1922, felt himself in a position to force matters. After all, punitive measures had been of no final avail in remedying a state of affairs long intolerable to the inflamed bourgeois nationalists. Furthermore, as observed, the Government, vacillating and delinquent in their eyes from the start, had ever been the peculiar object of their wrath. To put the demoralized country on its feet, Fascism must have the helm!

Back in August of 1922, Mussolini, addressing a Fascist convention, said: "They (the Government) demand of me a program. Well, our program is simple: we intend to govern Italy. If the Government does not have soiled hands, it will not impede us by closing the legal doors; otherwise when the tocsin sounds the Fascists will rise as one man for the ultimate and decisive battle, whose effective goal is Rome."

Events now moved rapidly. On October 3, 1922, Mussolini fired an ultimatum at the Government, demanding control of the State. Prime Minister Facta refused to comply, declaring "The Government will remain at its post. The greatest injustice that could be done me would be that of believing I have thought for a single moment of abandoning my position and the responsibility imposed upon me. Only the Chamber has a right to tell me that the relinquishment of my position is necessary."

The Fascists thereupon unlimbered. The second annual convention of the Party which opened at Naples on October 24th has aptly been characterized as a mobilization and a review of the forces. In a fiery declamation on the 26th, Mussolini reviewed the situation, stressing his ultimatum to the Government and what he termed its "ridiculous" reply. "Then, gentlemen," he continued, "the question, not being understood within its historical limits, asserts itself and becomes a question of strength. As a matter of fact, at turning points of history force always decides when it is a question of opposing interests and ideas. This is why we have gathered, firmly organized and strongly disciplined our legions, because thus, if the question must be settled by a recourse to force we shall win." (di San Severino, *Mussolini's Speeches*, 175.) In short, in his own words again "The moment has arrived....when the arrow must leave the bow, or the cord, too far stretched, will break." The historic "march on Rome" began on the 28th, and the Government, having no alternative, bowed to this force majeure, which, armed to the teeth, "called upon" the King, 90,000 strong. His Majesty graciously returned the compliment and "called upon" Mussolini. Fascism had achieved its cycle!

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MUSSOLINI

Dictatorial from the start, Italy's new master now founded his power, riding roughshod over the mangled remains of democracy. He was always canny enough, however, to give a certain show of legality to his violence. Thus Parliament, convening again on November 16th, after the coup d'état "gave" Mussolini a vote of confidence, and the "full power" demanded by the Prime Minister to achieve his ends was likewise secured by vote, as was the new electoral law passed to keep Fascism enthroned. All this legislation was driven through a demoralized House, however, cowed into submission, and voting under duress, ever threatened with dissolution and a new election "under Fascist clubs," to use the Prime Minister's own words.

Before passing to some brief consideration of the Fascist aim, policy and achievement, a word further on Mussolini the Dictator, the most spectacular ruler in the world today. At once more admired and more hated than any other man in Italy, a composite attempted from the enraptured delineations of his friends and admirers, and the vitriolic characterizations of his enemies, must certainly produce a political hybrid fearful and wonderful to behold. Now he is likened to a Roman Emperor, and models enough there are, surely, in that venerable school of ancient dignitaries to satisfy the extremest tastes of either camp! Now he is a condottiere, and whether a beneficent twentieth century replica of some good Duke of Urbino, or the hideous reincarnation of a Ludovico il Moro, depends, again, of course, on who drank the castor oil. He is a Cromwell, a Garibaldi, a Mazzini, a Roosevelt, enthusiasm knows no bounds! Much of the enemy comment is lost, unfortunately. It catches in the exceedingly fine meshes of the censor's net—a real pity, too, for Italian epithets are as full of color as a late Renaissance masterpiece!

Mr. Beals, whose study has been much used here, writes the following vivid sketch of his own personal impressions of the Dictator: "I first saw Mussolini at Bologna....He spoke extemporaneously, with explosive energy. He does not flatter his audience, but treats it aggressively, at times even abusively. He leaps to his conclusions more intuitively than logically. His mind sweeps from idea to idea often faster than his audience can follow, and he wins his hearers, not by his main conceptions, but by the felicitous and clever phrasing of distinct and apparently little-correlated points, often by the quick sinuous turning of a sentence. He has absorbed a few philosophic tags from Sorel, Proudhon, Spinoza, and the Italian idealists, which he has the knack of expressing in the form of dilute, disconnected, and sweeping generalizations—frequently with rather a poetic originality. He has something of a poet's love for language and for words, but he is not so rhetorical as D'Annunzio. He has rather the peculiarly Latin appreciation for the sculpturing of thought and language, but he often lacks the power of synthesis, frequently blurs the main outlines. He is a phrase-maker."

"All of his speaking gestures are compact, strong, yet incisive, and quite different from the dexterous, rather effeminate mannerisms of most Italian speakers. He is more economical with gestures, too, and uses rather the pose of his body and the intonation of his voice to force home his ideas. Perhaps his favorite posture is that of raising his left shoulder slightly and leaning forward with hands tense and close to the body. This accentuates his large, semi-bald cranium and causes the whites of his eyes to gleam in an almost 'darky' fashion. The irises of his eyes are black as India ink. An Italian writer has said that Mussolini's glance is flashing, especially when he is deeply moved. I have never gained that impression, even when he was addressing an audience, nor a second time when I saw him, angered in a small group after a meeting. There is a veiled quality to his eyes, not a dreaming expression, but the indefinable smouldering haziness that one may observe in the eyes of a person who has enjoyed some new and delicious emotional experience and is still slightly intoxicated, as though he were always a bit drunk with life." (Beals, *Rome or Death*, 244-246.)

The most summary review of the Dictator's acts before and since the establishment of his régime, or a reading of his speeches, reveals a man of extraordinary egotism, inordinate arrogance, utter self-confidence, tempestuous forcefulness and energy. One of his reforms not often noted has been a simplification of Italian grammar. Thus, for the most part, the personal pronouns have been reduced in number, practically eliminated—all but the first person singular! there being small room in the Dictator's vocabulary even for the polite and euphemistic "we" of elder royalty. The speeches are nearly always vehement subjective diatribes; the acts, the stupendous achievements of a superman, fulfilling the will of the Gods. The Imperial Ego operates preferably through the ultimatum with snappy time limit, and each execution is signed and sealed with the "Rex dixit, factum est" of a Louis XIV.

On the other hand there appears occasionally a strain in the man's egocentric exaltation which reminds one of the Transcendentalists. Thus at the end of one of his speeches he says: "Yesterday while the train carried me to Bologna, I felt myself in harmony with all things and all men. I felt bound to this earth; I felt myself an infinitesimal part of the great river which flows from the Alps to the Adriatic; I recognized my brothers in the peasants, those peasants with the grave attitudes of those who work the soil. I saw myself in the blue sky, which awakened my inextinguishable passion for flight. I recognized myself in all the aspects of nature and man, and a profound prayer rose in my heart...." (Speeches, 142.) That bit might almost find a place in Richard Jeffries's *Story of My Heart*, or in the *Journal* of Henry David Thoreau. There is, finally, a dynamic enthusiasm and earnestness about Mussolini which carry great conviction. If he feigns here he is diabolical.

DOMESTIC POLICY OF MUSSOLINI

Now the aim of this twentieth century Italian Despotism is, of course, the establishment of a strong vigorous Italy worthily filling the great rôle in world civilization for which her glorious and unique past obviously destines her. Mussolini never tires of ringing the changes on that concept. Thus, for example, he speaks: "I have enormous faith in the future greatness of the Italian people. Ours is the most numerous and homogeneous of the peoples of Europe. The war has enormously increased the prestige of Italy. 'Long live Italy!' is now the cry in far off Lettonia and still more distant Georgia. Italy is the tricolor wing of Ferrarin, the magnetic wave of Marconi, the baton of Toscanini, the revival of Dante, in the sixth centenary of his departure. Let us prepare ourselves by energetic everyday work for the Italy of tomorrow of which we dream; an Italy free and rich, resounding with song, with her skies and seas populated with her fleets, and her earth fruitful beneath her ploughs. And may the coming citizens be able to say what Virgil said of ancient Rome: 'Imperium oceano, famam terminavit astris.' (Speeches, 133.)

And the means to this end? Briefly, the annihilation, forcefully if it must be—there is ever that trench-warfare code to it—of every factor, every institution within Italy, the presence of which could possibly jeopardize the country's well-being. More specifically—all the institutions built up by class-conscious labor—the unions, the co-operatives, the land leagues, the political parties—all must go, or be so modified in ideal and direction or so weakened that they no longer may menace the State. And a corollary to this part of the program is the support of capitalism, the history of which, in Mussolini's own words, is but begun: "Capitalism is not only a system of oppression," he says, "but a selection of that which is of most worth, a co-ordination of hierarchies, a more strongly developed sense of individual responsibility. So true is this that Lenin, after having instituted the building councils, abolished them and put in dictators; so true is it that, after having nationalized commerce, he reintroduced the régime of liberty ...and, after having even physically suppressed the bourgeoisie, today he summons it back, because without capitalism and its technical system of production Russia could never rise again." (Speeches, 199.) Full restitution, therefore, of the system of laissez-faire throughout industry, including the entire abandonment of governmental ownership. In addition there must be thoroughgoing reform of the whole governmental machine to secure economy and efficiency. Such are the principal reaches of the new domestic policy.

AGGRESSIVE FOREIGN POLICY

In the foreign field attainment of Italy's proper goal means, obviously, the development of an aggressive policy. Too long has Italy been the dupe of the Great Powers—or their cat's paw. Away, now, with such ignominy forever, and forward, always, with the motto "niente per niente." (Nothing for nothing.)

At the very first Fascist meeting on the 23d of March, 1919, Mussolini described the world objective of the movement very clearly: "We have forty million inhabitants and an area of 287,000 square kilometers, divided by the Apennines, which reduce still further the availability of the land capable of cultivation. In ten or twenty years' time we shall be sixty millions, and we have a bare million and a half square kilometers of land in the way of colonies, which to a large extent is barren, and to which we can certainly never send the surplus of our people. But if we look around, we see England, with forty-seven million inhabitants, and a colonial empire of fifty-five million square kilometers, and we see France, with a population of thirty-eight millions, and a colonial empire of fifty million square kilometers. And I could prove to you with figures that all the nations of the world, not excluding Portugal, Holland and Belgium, have colonies which they cling to, and are not in the least disposed to relinquish for all the ideologies which come from the other side of the ocean. *Imperialism is at the base of the life of every people which desires economic and spiritual expansion.* That which distinguishes the different kinds of Imperialism is the method adopted in its pursuit. Now the method which we choose will never resemble the barbaric penetration of the Germans. And we say, either everybody idealist or nobody. One cannot understand how people who are well off, can preach idealism to those who suffer, because that would be very easy. We want our place in the world [not sun, this time] because we have a right to it." (Speeches, 89-90.) Here, again, there is a corollary: Italy must have a first-class army and navy, and an air equipment second to none.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF MUSSOLINI

What has been done between November, 1922, and the present towards the fulfillment of this great super-national program? The Dictator, judging from his most recent speeches, appears to be very enthusiastic over the achievement to date, and the eulogistic appraisals of his first year in office by his admirers paint a millennium—happy, singing, hard-working, sacrificing people; the best public service in years, labor lion and capital lamb gamboling playfully in the same pasture; confidence in every face, and all bright hope for the future. To what extent is this a true picture, and to what extent has Mussolini's leadership been responsible for the amazing transformation if it exists? These are questions again which it is impossible to answer well at the present time. For the most part the outside world is still hearing only one side of the story.

Numerous so-called reforms appear to have been effected, some of them truly wonderful if results are as represented. Thus, for example, thousands, literally, of government sinecures have been abolished, and the fungus incumbents set adrift with no increase in the numbers of unemployed in Italy. What has become of these political derelicts? Labor says they are in the ranks of the idle. Which statement is correct?

Again, Mussolini has abolished the Royal Guard, and saved for the treasury the funds formerly squandered on the useless up-keep of that inefficient military police. But what of the new Black-Guard? And is the standing army lately raised to 300,000 men, under an extended term of training, serving gratis? One wonders. And is voluntary donation going to support Mussolini's air defense program—a program which calls for the delivery of 1,600 new planes to the Italian army by the end of the coming June?³ What about the defense appropriation of \$138,000,000 in an Italy whose national debt is now 53 per cent. of the total wealth of the country, an Italy silent or negative regarding her debt to America?

Some real saving to be sure has been effected in the educational reform bills enacted. Indeed, it is easy to economize by combining the chairs of Philosophy and History, of Mathematics and Physics in the Universities. During reconstruction it would be foolish to have all such absurd costly hyper-specialization. Again, for altogether too long, say the reformers, has Italy with her educational ideal been committed to the ridiculous policy of transforming at Government expense perfectly good bricklayers, hod-carriers, plumbers, carpenters, and other such plain useful folk into superfluous, ineffective, idle doctors, lawyers and the like ornamental nodules on society. Time now, surely, to tighten up a bit, and cut down on this costly manufacture of silk purses from sow's ears as the dirty old proverb has it. Accordingly in a country in parts of which 38 to 50 per cent. of the population is still illiterate, the Dictator cuts down the number of schools and raises requirements. Can these be flies in the lovely amber of the New Italy, or can Mussolini be fiddling with that funny sleight-of-hand game, Peter and Paul, robbing the one to enrich the other, throwing dust the while in the eyes of his bewildered spectators?

And Italian labor. What of its status? Clubbed, bombed, castor-oiled, burned, it is stunned, disorganized, reorganized, Fascist much of it, but withal the same old labor. Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard his spots? Then may these do good that are accustomed to do evil! With apologies to Jeremiah for the variant reading. Thus Turati, moderate Socialist, spoke to this following effect in Parliament sometime since, Mussolini notwithstanding: "I firmly believe that political and syndicalist liberty is an absolute necessity in the modern scheme of economic development of peoples and nations, necessary even to that sane capitalism which is yet to be exhausted. For this reason if for no other, it must be restored and increased as soon as possible. I do not know, nor can I say, how soon it will be restored under the circumstances, but when it is restored, in spite of the blows it has received, or because of those blows, it will be greater and more durable." (*New York Nation*, Jan. 24, 1923, Foreign Relations Section.)

Likewise, Don Sturzo, priest-politician, and head of the Partito Popolare, the Catholic or Populist

party—Christian Socialist, and the second strongest party in the state prior to the Dictatorship. Don Sturzo has seen his party weakened by a split which carried certain of the ranks into the Fascist alignment, but intransigent as ever, he still leads the body of his faithful, and defies Mussolini. Now much of the Dictator's apparent success in overthrowing the old labor organizations, political, social and economic, is to be explained by the fact that he simply transferred these organs to Fascist direction, with a changed ideal, as he says. Don Sturzo comments, smilingly, or perhaps grimly, one fancies, on such political legerdemain, as follows: "Fascism is not economically the police or the royal guard of the rich and predatory industrial bourgeoisie, nor will it maintain the parasitic industry that lives in the shadow of the state....The rapid and violent manner in which the pro-Socialist, Communist, and Anarchist leagues have been transformed into Fasci, and at the same time the pro-official heads and the dogmas of the Red International substituted with other leaders and with other myths of a patriotic and national character....in no wise modifies the economic facts of the class struggle, nor disposes of the iron laws of the distribution of wealth, nor lessens the grave problem of excess labor population to which still remain closed all possibilities of employment.

"Under such economic conditions there has been overthrown, by a convulsive and violent movement, a labor policy that was becoming excessive and monopolistic; the violent measures will be exhausted when resistance diminishes, but will reappear again on the terrain of the class-struggle, now maintained by factions—yesterday Socialist and Communist, tomorrow Fascist." (Quoted in Beals, *Rome or Death*, 175-6.) Don Sturzo, scion of an ancient noble family and preacher of democracy, has been likened to a Savonarola, though his constructive ideals and policies remind one rather of a Francis of Assisi. Unassuming, sincere, quiet, powerful, worshipped by his followers, this remarkable man is yet to be heard from.

In the realm of foreign affairs, New Italy "quietly" crashes right and left with her Fascist club, making her place in the world. Here the Dictator's most signal acts have been presumably the annexation of Fiume, and his defiance of the League of Nations to which Greece appealed last summer when Mussolini placed that unfortunate state in a terrible dilemma. The story is a long one and cannot find place here. Suffice it to say that Italy's Prime Minister without evidence held Greece responsible for the brutal murder of the Italian members of a boundary commission working in northwestern Greece. He sent posthaste an ultimatum demanding a humiliating apology, a complete investigation of the crime within five days, together with the payment of a 50-million lire indemnity—all terms impossible of fulfillment. Greece did all in her power, it appears, to satisfy Italy, but the terms of the ultimatum were not met. Mussolini, therefore, ordered the bombardment of Corfu, and its military occupation as a guarantee until Greece should make ample amends.

The bombardment cost the life of twenty people, sixteen of whom were orphan children, protégées of the Red Cross. Greece, defenseless, thereupon appealed to the League of Nations, whose competence to adjudicate this case involving Italy's "honor" was effectively denied by Mussolini.

But here again the Dictator's greatest triumphs have been very doubtful victories. Significant that when Fiume was officially handed over to Italy, the Slav population in the port proper, or Porto Barros, which they are to retain, hung their houses in mourning as requested by their Mayor! Let these same South Slavs distracted at present by internal strife and by serious trouble in Macedonia, but compose their antagonisms—there were an exigency to test the metal of Fascism!

So, too, the Greek matter. Not the impotent Greeks alone, but the entire civilized world was insulted by Mussolini's arrogant policy. Austria paid a terrific price for her ultimatum to Serbia in 1914, between which and the Italian ultimatum to Greece there is such striking similarity. That the Dictator could defy the world in 1923 was due to its exhaustion after the Great War rather than to any change in human sentiment regarding such brutality. Mussolini had his triumph, but he forfeited the good opinion of humanity—a price indeed. In the Greek heart, furthermore, there burns another one of those terrible hates which awaits its day. Mussolini has given his patria much for which to answer in these two arbitrary acts alone.

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE OF FASCISM

In conclusion, what of the future? It appears entirely safe to affirm that democratic government, though in low estate in Italy today, is bound to triumph over this post-war reactionary throw-back, which, for all its so-called mystic idealism, is but a violent lurch to the right after a violent lurch to the left made by a war-racked state striving to attain its wonted equilibrium. There are, to be sure, many students who affirm that Italy has never had really democratic government, but rather corrupt demagogue control from the start. Indeed, certain Italians themselves go so far as to say that a parliamentary régime is foreign to Italy, borrowed as theirs was from England and France, and that the Italian temperament is not adapted to such government. Are such students willing to say then, that the astonishing advance made by Italy since her unification and the establishment of a very flexible parliamentary system, has been achieved in spite of that system? Or are these same students able to compare government in Italy since 1870 with government in Italy prior to that date to the detriment of parliamentary rule? There is no comparison whatsoever between political Italy before and after 1870 as any fair student knows. Mistakes have been made; there has been plenty of corruption, all manner of malfeasance—a people which has been under the worst type of autocratic yoke for centuries cannot achieve perfection with constitutionalism in fifty years—but justify the overthrow of democracy for these errors! As well, by

comparison, throw out democracy in America where it is our birthright because of Teapot Dome. Italy is entitled to many mistakes by analogy!

And recent events lead one to believe that Signor Mussolini understands perfectly how matters stand in Italy today. It will be recalled that after the coup d'état which placed him in power, the Dictator retained the old Chamber of Deputies, railroading his measures through Parliament by arbitrary unconstitutional means. Among that legislation was his electoral reform bill, a law which provides that the party in Italy which polls the highest number of votes secures thereby three-fifths of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies, the remaining two-fifths to be distributed among all the other parties. With the Socialists split as they are, and with the Catholic party weakened, this "reform" when run must, obviously, return a Fascist chamber. Thus fortified the Dictator latterly makes great show of operating constitutionally. The King recently dismissed the old House at the order of Mussolini, and the elections held on April 6, 1924, maintain the present régime in triumph.⁴ In his campaign speeches, however, Mussolini manifested all his wonted disdain of Democracy. Thus, for example, early in 1924—"For our fatherland, for Fascism, I swear by the blood of our martyrs that we are ready to kill or to die.... Beware anyone who dares approach the Fascisti militia. They ask why I didn't get Parliament to grant me an extension of my extraordinary powers instead of calling a popular election. I will tell you; it would have been too easy a victory. They would have granted me the power, but they hate me. Yes, and I hate them; that old parliament has filled me with the greatest disgust. I hated them so I swept out that nest of drones." (Press Report.) Now, isn't that just a trifle too vehement even for the Latin temperament? Isn't it possible that the Dictator speaks here, as an angry child might, with naïve honesty? Mussolini never tires of urging the Italians to be worthy of their magnificent past. Well and good! Back in the dim old year 1289, when serfdom was universal in Europe, the Queen of Italian city-states, Florence, freed her serfs, "because," so ran the ancient statute, "liberty is an imprescriptible right which should never be dependent on the will of another, and the Republic is in duty bound not only to maintain, but to strengthen this principle." Can it be that these same "drones," and other cravens as well, outside of Parliament, are proving themselves the worthy heirs of that immortal legacy! Mussolini emphatically answers that question in the affirmative.

¹ They were receiving less than a dollar a day in American money.

² See the entire document printed in *N. Y. Nation*, November 15, 1922.

³ i. e., June, 1924.

⁴ Despite the victory at the polls, the opposition has been remarkable, bearing in mind the fact that the Fascisti used during the elections all their characteristic methods of intimidation—personal violence, even to assassination in at least one case, destruction of property, etc.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The sub-headings in this article were added when it was too late to have them approved by the author.—A. E. M.

Teaching the Presidential Campaign in Senior High School

BY BYRON F. FIELD, INSTRUCTOR IN AMERICAN HISTORY AND CIVICS, CULVER MILITARY ACADEMY, CULVER, INDIANA

Present-day pedagogy increasingly believes that in the teaching of history, comparisons of past occurrences with present events are desirable for purposes of explanation and clarity. Not only is this indispensable in courses dealing with events transpiring in ancient times and in foreign nations, but it is even more necessary in American history. It will always be difficult, if not impossible, to make a student see in the Roman and Athenian life counter-parts to his own—the gap is too great; the characters are still members of a distant, trans-oceanic group. In American history as well, the instructor constantly encounters a haze in the student's mind in which Raleigh, Smith, Washington, Jackson, Lincoln and even later characters seem to be but figures of a tapestry which has always hung on the wall of his mind-room, but which he has never taken the proper effort to distinguish.

Historical perspective for the young students narrows very rapidly. While great events may be forced on his mind as historical mile-stones, he counts them only as certain distances from the present—in which his paramount interest lies. The situation, however, is far from discouraging, as the present, which holds the interest, can be most useful in illustrating and making more tangible, past events, while the past, in turn, can and should be relied upon to furnish the best of background and comparisons to make present events more significant.

One of the finest opportunities for such comparative study exists in the quadrennial phenomenon known as the presidential campaign. Men have been elected to the presidency of the United States for about one hundred thirty-five years, and during the larger part of that period the candidates have been nominated in a manner similar to the one now in use. Elections, like wars and sectional struggles, always occupy a large part of any history course. What a splendid opportunity arises, particularly in the "presidential years," to enliven the elections of the past by comparisons with those of this year.

At Culver, as in many schools, we took advantage of the situation last spring to stage a mock national (Republican) convention in which the rules and procedure of the national convention were followed as closely as local circumstances permitted. Every student took part. Spirited arguments arose as to the merits and qualifications of rival candidates. Further, the Cadets spent nearly a week in deliberating on a referendum for their platform (arranged with various alternate proposals similar to the one in *The Outlook*). In such institutions as held a convention and platform referendum the interest was aroused early. In schools which did not conduct such

exercises, other methods may be provided easily in order to reach the same end now.

The opportunity for creating a general and intelligent interest should not be confined to the history and civics classes, although the most definite work must be done there. General assemblies should be conducted in which the developments to date should be outlined, the relative issues argued, the rival candidates discussed and debated, and the election made a reality.

In the consideration of the campaign, and the whole panorama of political phenomena, primary attention must be directed to an analysis of the *raison d'être* for parties, and so-called popular nominations and elections. Students must be led to see in the campaign something vastly more important than a world series or a championship bout. They should grasp the necessity for definitely functioning parties, and for a general participation in elections. No present-day American characteristic is more disheartening than the persistent disinterest in things political, outside of matters purely spectacular. Since this is true, it is small wonder that the average student sees little of significance or importance in the elections of the past, or the present.

It is easy to arouse enthusiasm for the study of a war, as wars have always been associated with displays of individual heroism, and of national organization for the purpose of winning the contest. Strategy is fascinating, as it involves methods which appeal to the imagination. Elections should arouse a very similar interest, for are not groups striving for a victory which will assure them of the opportunity of ruling the entire nation in a manner according to their beliefs? No matter what party is in control, the chief agencies of government always function in about the same manner. This must, necessarily, be true else chaos and upheaval would follow the advent of every new administration. Nevertheless, certain changes of policy are inevitable. It is the determination of what the changes, if any, shall be, which necessitates elections.

Having considered the reasons for division into parties, a study of the types of men who are chosen as nominees may be made. Are they selected because it is held that they possess peculiar qualities of leadership, of executive ability, of administrative foresight? How far are their personal habits considered, their social likes and dislikes, their financial and family connections sounded? To what extent do exactly the same considerations hold in the choice of, and sentiment for, Vice-Presidential candidates? Is it proper that Vice-Presidential candidates should be chosen for "political" or "strategic" purposes, to balance

the ticket? To what extent should the fitness of the Vice-Presidential possibility for presiding over the Senate be considered? These and many other questions make the personal selection of significance.

In discussing candidacies, a consideration of the pre-convention activities of the men, and of the groups which wish to dominate the convention should be attempted. The fact that these contending candidates and groups represent various social, racial, economic, religious and socio-political elements, can be illustrated. Personal ambitions can be traced, as well as the self-interest of the blocs.

Further, a reasonably thorough study of the platforms of the three major parties should be attempted. No one suffers the illusion that any party, once in power, puts into effect, or attempts to do so—all or many of its platform promises; nevertheless, the differences are fairly real and furnish a genuine basis for study as to the contending issues.

As the campaign progresses, an attempt to follow the methods prior to the November election, as to the machinery, as to the arguments advanced and stressed, and as to the method of their advancement is worth while.

A very entertaining assembly, or portion of a class period could be devoted to a comparison of the so-called spectacular methods used during the campaigns in past years, and those now in operation. The parades, torch light processions, log cabin and cider floats, buttons, hats, and many other distinctive means of propaganda could be very picturesquely described. The new methods furnish much opportunity for speculation. Speakers are now carried from place to place in automobiles and even in aeroplanes, making for a mobility of the person. More than that, the widespread use of the radio inevitably will cause an entirely new national interest in every one of the significant speeches, as fast as they are delivered.

Another matter worthy of consideration, in comparison with the election procedure in other nations, is the fact that our elections occur periodically, at fixed intervals, regardless of the existing economic or political situation. Why—the student should attempt to explain—has this scheme been allowed to continue, in which an artificial crisis is manufactured, in which phantom issues are created, rather than adopting the plan of holding the elections to gain a popular referendum on the particular problem at the moment up for solution? Should not the suggestion be developed that although certain issues are raised, yet, generally speaking, the electorate in this country chooses an individual and then leaves to him, or to his party, the determination of his position on any matter which may demand legislative activity during the next legislature, or term of office?

To encourage an enthusiasm for the study of the campaign, the interest in the struggle, in the personalities and in the issues must be so aroused as to become real on the part of the students. A mere reading of clippings of the political news of the week will not suffice. A background must be builded. First,

what are the Republican, Democratic, and "Progressive" parties? Are they mere haphazard combinations of men and women? If not, what reasons caused their formation? Have they changed in their essential purpose and program since their origin, and, if so, how, and to what extent? In what ways is the third party different from others which have arisen in the past? Is it a "mere threat" at the bi-partisan control of the two complementary groups which have held control for so long, or is it a positive force which might properly supplant these in their position—causing them to fuse into one party in opposition—a situation somewhat similar to that now existing in England?

The study of, and answer to these questions should be sufficient at the outset to furnish an historical background for this year's event, and to serve further as an excellent means of tying up with the political history of the century past.

Another matter to which attention might be called early is the amount of time which the incumbent President has to take from his duties in order to attempt to succeed himself in office. Discussion ought to ensue as to the ethics of the matter. Here would be the proper place to suggest the arguments in favor of a single term of six years for President.

Certain students, because of family talk, or of sectional interest, or for other reasons, will take a partisan view from the beginning. If tempered with caution, this is to be encouraged. Nothing will serve to put life in the study more than a real difference of opinion as to the merits of the various parties. If a student contends that the Democrats are right, he should be asked to show what they have done in the past to merit his approval. If the radical stand of the third party is applauded, a demand for proof that the present methods are archaic or unsatisfactory is necessary. If the habit does not already exist, it should be encouraged, of demanding proof for every positive statement.

Before proceeding further, attention should be drawn to the consideration that, of necessity, the methods employed for students in first semester, and second semester American History, cannot be the same. For those in the first semester, the November election will have arrived before they will have reached the Constitutional period in our history. Hence, for them, many of the comparisons and explanations will have to be furnished by the instructor, only drawing upon previously acquired general information from the students. However, even with these students, the consideration of party, of difference of political opinion, and of issues, can properly be introduced. With some teachers it may be best to introduce it arbitrarily at stated intervals, while others may care to use the device of asking, now and then, "What are the developments in the campaign?", and then discuss them as far as the students' knowledge will permit. Obviously, throughout the year, as the course develops, continuous reference may and should be made to the campaign just then concluded. In this lies one of the chief reality-producing devices for the whole year's study.

For students in the second semester, historical political parties will already be a reality, and they should be relied upon to furnish many of the illustrations and comparisons which will have to be supplied by the teacher to the first semester students.

For pupils in the Civics classes, courses generally given after the completion of the American History work, other matters of a more technical nature may receive detailed consideration. From them, an analysis of the constitutional and legal provisions regarding nominations and elections may be expected. They should discuss freely the unit and two-thirds rules which helped to make a nomination in the Democratic Convention especially difficult this year. They should consider the refusal of Governor Lowden to accept the Republican nomination for Vice-President from the standpoint of how far the will of a convention may be considered a mandate from the people, to be obeyed regardless of personal desire. Civics students should be able to explain readily the methods which would be involved in case no candidate received a majority of the electoral votes. They should discuss the question of how far LaFollette and Wheeler may be considered "traitors" to their party, and how far as earnest men trying to introduce an honest innovation in politics.

Some attention might be drawn to the relation between the "State Ticket" and the "National Ticket," before and during the election. To what extent does either affect the other? To what extent do the national campaigners acquiesce in a local situation in order to "carry the state," and, similarly, to what lengths do the state candidates attempt to fall in line with the wishes of the national candidates? What are the arguments for and against holding the state and national elections at separate times? What is the significance of the party division in state elections anyway? Might it not better be eliminated? All these matters should make the students of civics see real interest in their work, and its relation to what is now going on.

To return to the general consideration of the subject, after the arousal of interest, in every class there should be some study of the party platforms. What do the Democrats propose definitely, after they have finished their denunciation of the "Republican misrule"? To what extent is this "mis-rule" directly due to Republican fallibility alone? What assurance is there that a new administration by another party would improve the situation? Why is the farmer's vote and opinion considered so seriously this year—so that General Dawes, and Governor Bryan are advanced as "champions of the soil"? Is it a concession to the farm bloc which has been so active recently in Washington and elsewhere? To what extent are the older parties trying to gain the backing of the labor groups in order to offset the arguments of the LaFollette group? The activities of Mr. Wilson on the Davis Committee in courting the American Federation of Labor for support could be used in connection with this point.

Still other avenues of study are opened up by the

speeches made in the Conventions, and during the campaign. One especially, made by Representative Burton in his key-note address in Cleveland, might cause considerable thought. Was he right when he said, "The people generally stand behind the President in his arguments with the members of his own party in Congress"? That would logically lead to a discussion of the comparative extent to which people expect generally that the president will influence legislation over against Congress. That in turn opens up the entire field of comparisons as to the relative position of the president as chief executive, and of Congress as a check on his power.

Certain other schemes which might be worth experimenting with would be a weekly poll of the classes to determine whether any had changed their opinion as to which party they favored. Any who had done so should be called upon to give the reasons for the change.

It should hardly be necessary to call attention to the obvious comparisons with elections of the past which have presented peculiar problems. This is an admirable opportunity to explain the peculiarities in our constitutional arrangement which made possible the election of Harrison in 1888 even though Cleveland had the popular majority. The J. Q. Adams election in the House of Representatives should be explained in advance, because of the evident possibility of such an occurrence this year. Obviously, the eight to seven decision in favor of Hayes should be explained in detail.

Nowhere in the study of history could the use of a scrap book be of more value than during this part of the work. It could be separated logically into several divisions. First, there might be the speeches of national importance made by the chief candidates or their authorized representatives. If the entire speeches could not be preserved, at least the most important passages should be clipped. These can be entered either in the order of their delivery or according to reference to particular topics. The second method would seem preferable, as it would make easy the placing together of the arguments of the rival parties on particular subjects.

We do not need to regret the passing of Nast while searching for political cartoons. Nothing better expresses the public opinion, or, at any event, the inspired opinion of the leading newspapers than the drawings of the leading cartoonists. Further, it would be worth while to suggest the value of these cartoons themselves in shaping the public opinion of those who see them. Referring to Nast, a collection of his works, easily available, or of some other famous caricaturist of the past, would be admirable, as indicating the new methods used in this field to appeal to the popular fancy. A blackboard certainly should be set aside for the display of the best of the clippings and cartoons as they appear.

Finally, on election day, or shortly before, a mock election in which all the students in the school took part would aid wonderfully in arousing interest in the event. A general assembly in which good stu-

dent speakers proclaimed the relative merits of the various groups should take place a few days before the election. The whole idea behind the scheme would be to combine a natural youthful interest in anything competitive, with a modicum of training of the function in which the largest part of our population has a share.

"Good citizenship" depends upon several qualities,—generally disseminated information, thoughtful consideration and study, and then action in the form of

casting a ballot on the basis of this information, consideration and study. We may never hope to avoid the party allegiance which is adhered to for better or for worse, but at least we can attempt to interest so large a part of the electorate in the ballot that all parties will be compelled to place self-respecting candidates in nomination, standing on solid platforms which they will honestly endeavor to make the foundation for their activity, if elected.

Teaching the Presidential Campaign in Junior High School

I. A Study of Party Platforms

BY ANNA M. BLACK, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND CIVICS, ANNA HOWARD SHAW JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA

This study contemplates a series of four lessons for grades eight and nine, as follows:

1. Assignment.
- 2 and 3. Reports of campaigns from 1852 to 1920.
4. Forum discussion of campaign of 1924.

In considering the present campaign, the outcome of which will determine who will be the next President of the United States, we may assume for purposes of illustration that the principal contest will be furnished by the two major political parties. Both of these parties have presented to the people of the country, for consideration in determining for whom they will vote, a platform of principles for which their candidate is presumed to stand.

During the early days of the Union it was not the custom to hold political conventions nor to issue political platforms. And not until the seventeenth campaign in 1852 do we find the two major parties each presenting to the country a platform of principles in soliciting votes for their candidates. Since that time these platforms have steadily grown in the wide variety of subjects covered. There are, however, many issues which have been the fighting ground for both political parties. These can readily be grouped under a comparatively few broad headings, such as tariff, immigration, currency and finance, foreign relations, internal improvements, public lands, trusts, and so on. To the close of the Civil War slavery was an outstanding issue. It will be observed that, as the nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress and old issues are settled or pass into history. From time to time many additional issues have been introduced, including various amendments to the Constitution, civil service reform, women's rights, pensions, admission of new states and possessions to the Union, temperance and prohibition, merchant marine, interstate commerce regulations, labor laws, and more recently farmers' aid and national defense.

With these topics as headings a chart of all the campaigns may be prepared like that on page 303.

The issues as set forth in the preceding paragraphs are the only ones we will consider. The pupils will find that in the campaigns from 1789 to 1828 the parties did not have platforms, that the parties in 1832 and 1836 passed resolutions, and that in 1840, 1844, and 1848 one party only had a platform. We will, therefore, consider the issues of the campaigns from 1852 to 1924, inclusive.

The class will be divided equally to represent the Republican and Democratic parties. Each pupil will be expected to develop a detailed report of the issues of his particular party in a specific campaign. The topics will be assigned two weeks in advance. Pupil A of the Republican Party will be given the issues of the campaign of 1856, Pupil B of the same party the issues of the campaign of 1860, while Pupils A and B of the Democratic Party will be assigned the issues of that party during these campaigns. The same procedure will be followed until all the campaigns have been assigned. These reports will be brought to class and discussed.

When the issues of these campaigns have been reviewed the knowledge gained can be applied in considering in a similar manner the present campaign. In this way the pupils will have a broader opportunity to form opinions on the issues of the present day and on their relative importance in the light of our history.

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General Issues of Presidential Campaigns as Shown in Party Platforms.

	Campaigns	Issues by Party																							
		Internal Improvements			Finance Bank			Currency			Slavery			Public Lands			Tariff			Foreign Relations			Trusts		
14 1840	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	Americanization					
15 1844	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	Admission of Territories					
16 1848	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	Polygamy					
17 1852	D	W	D	W	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	Immigration					
18 1856	R	D	D	R	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	Pensions					
19 1860	R	D	D	R	D	R	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	Amendments					
20 1864	R	R	R				R													Civil Service Reform					
21 1868		D	R	D	D	D	R													Rights of Women					
22 1872		D	R		D	R	D					D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	Military Control of Elections					
23 1876		D	R		D	R	D				D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	Labor					
24 1880		D	R		D	R	R				R	D	R	R	D	R	D	R	D	Church and State					
25 1884	D	D	R		D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	Merchant Marine					
26 1888	R	D	R		D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	Interstate Commerce					
27 1892	D	D	R		D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	National Defense					
28 1896	D	D	R		D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	Temperance					
29 1900	R	D	R		D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	Aid to Farmers					
30 1904	D	R		D	D	R	D	D	D	D	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D						
31 1908	D	D	R		D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D						
32 1912	R	D	R		D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D						
33 1916	D			D	R	D	R	D	R	D	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D						
34 1920	D	D	R		D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D						
35 1924	D	D	R		D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D						
Totals	D 14 W 1 R 8	D 19 W 0 R 15	D 7 W 1 R 3	D 14 W 0 R 9	D 21 W 1 R 15	D 20 W 1 R 16	D 8 R 6	D 8 R 7	D 7 R 6	D 1 R 6	D 8 R 15	D 11 R 12	D 5 R 3	D 9 R 9	D 3 R 7	D 6 R 4	D 6 R 8	D 5 R 5	D 4 R 3	D 6 R 11	D 9 R 9	D 6 R 7	D 0 R 3	D 2 R 5	

W = Whigs; D = Democrats; R = Republicans

Anna M. Black

II. How We Shall Treat the Presidential Election Problem

BY MARGARET R. HEGARTY, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND CIVICS, W. T. TILDEN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA

In preparing my class for a study of the election campaign we will discuss what "presidential year" means to the country. We will talk about how political attitudes towards the tariff, manufacturing, the farm bloc, mining, public utilities, and other human activities affect these activities, and how they react on political patronage. We will list some issues that have come before the public in the last few years, such as immigration, farm bloc, government ownership, special privilege, the bonus, treatment of disabled veterans, and prohibition. Pupils will be urged to deal with questions zealously, but without prejudice, rancor, or bigotry. They must be led to have a real sportsmanlike attitude towards politics.

An intensive study of the provisions of the Constitution for the election of the President and Vice-President will be my next step. By constant reference to this, our refuge and our strength in governing, it will impress on the pupils that the Constitution is a set of rules by which we govern, and we must follow it as a druggist follows a physician's prescription when he concocts the medicine that remedies physical ills. We will discuss it step by step in a supervised study period. It is my duty to make them realize that the Constitution is a workable, living thing, and not a vague something that you hear about when distinguished jurists, Fourth of July orators, or political spell-binders refer to it. We must make them see it is the set of rules for the game of governing.

This plan will be resorted to, because the results obtained from other more indirect methods have been unsatisfactory. Very often, after carefully leading up step by step to the desired end, success has not been the reward. So we will hark back to the direct, straight-forward plan as being most economical, both from the standpoint of time and effort, and the surest from the standpoint of ultimate success.

Collections of newspapers were made during the progress of the Republican and Democratic Conventions. Now that the time has arrived for practical demonstrations, these newspapers will be hung about the room, or placed where pupils will have easy access to them. This will afford opportunity for assigning projects from the newspaper accounts, either individual ones, or to small groups. If the projects are assigned thus, the pupils will better understand just what is expected of them, and they will not waste so much time and effort floundering in a sea of material. The assignments will be definite and not lengthy. In that way more pupils can enter into the work and interest is apt to be more widespread.

They will be directed to pick out terms used in the newspaper reports that are unusual to them, such as caucus, plank, platform, candidate, nominee, nomi-

nate, unit rule, temporary chairman, permanent chairman, majority, quorum, and so on. These terms must be made clear so that the pupils can use them in their work.

Some projects involved will be:

I. How members of the National Committee are appointed.

II. How national delegates are voted for at the Primary Election.

III. Caucuses held by delegates to decide what nominees they will support.

IV. A student group will demonstrate how delegates advertise their favorites, getting out biographies of the men, recounting interesting anecdotes, or publishing pictures of intimate family life. Incidentally, one can impress on the students the value of a moral life, both public and private, and high standards of political conduct by showing how the lives of candidates are searched into by their opponents in order to find reasons why the people should not elect them to office.

V. A group will have banners made with the names of states, and a few mottoes, buttons, political war cries, to further the nomination of their candidate. They can put these in the halls or rooms to make it seem like real electioneering.

VI. Finding out the number of votes to which each state is entitled and what determines it.

VII. Learning the procedure at the Convention.

VIII. Getting planks for the platforms for the opposing parties. This project will necessarily be the work of a number. It will afford an opportunity to show the classes how, in our vast democracy, there are many groups to be considered, each with demands to be satisfied. The Farm Bloc, Organized Labor, the Mining interests, the "Wets," the "Drys" all have their pet desires to be dealt with. Right here can be emphasized that in a real democracy selfishness cannot hold complete sway—that a powerful majority should not always override the wishes of a minority. "We must live and let live." As Woodrow Wilson said: "We cannot become thorough Americans if we think of ourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups."

IX. Registration of voters. A group should find out methods of registration, days appointed for it, officials needed, questions asked, and the usual manner of procedure.

X. Election. Specimen ballots may be secured, election officials appointed, and the procedure of election faithfully followed. Results may be gathered and published in the class.

XI. Meetings of Electoral College may be a final assignment.

The preceding topics are tentative. They may be added to or modified, as the occasion demands.

After the individuals and committees have had the opportunity to work up the assignments we will hear in class the results of their labors. The reports will be discussed, suggestions asked for, and corrections and improvements made where required. We are now ready for the completion of our labors. We will have it in the form of a pageant, each episode enacted in an assembly period, thus giving a large group the benefit. The *action* and *dialogue* will be supplied by the students. The episodes will follow somewhat the order of the projects previously assigned.

Prologue by "Miss Constitution."

Meeting of the Delegates to National Convention elected at Primary Election.

Republican Convention. To make it more vivid, each will have a plank with the principles it represents emblazoned thereon. When fitted together, these will form the platform on which the candidate nominated will stand. This will tend to emphasize the policies of each political party.

Democratic Convention. Treated in the same manner as the Republican.

Letters of acceptance of each candidate.

Registration of voters.

Election results.

Electoral College meeting.

Election in the House of Representatives in the event of no candidate receiving a majority.

Epilogue by "Miss Constitution" on the duty of every citizen in regard to voting.

These demonstrations need not be lengthy, but the preparation will take time, thought and attention for a period in advance of presentation. The slow groups will need help and will take more time, but it is imperative that they should have this knowledge in as great a degree as it is possible for them to absorb. This is essential, as from this group will come the tools of the unscrupulous politician—the political henchmen of the future.

By these practical methods we will endeavor to rouse our boys and girls to an appreciation of the great privilege they enjoy as citizens in a democracy, and of the great and solemn duties that devolve on them as supporters of the Constitution. We will try to make them see that they are responsible for the candidates chosen and for any mistakes made in the choice. They can also be led to see that such mistakes, in a republic like ours, can be rectified in the same manner in which they were made and not by violence and revolution. These are valuable lessons to inculcate in our future citizens. God grant that we will fulfil our duty in teaching them. Let our slogan be:

"Our Constitution—first, last, and all the time."

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Books for Historical Reading in Schools

A Report by Joint Committees of the New England History Teachers' Association, the History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland, and the Teachers' Section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association;
Prof. Herbert D. Foster, Chairman.

METHOD OF SELECTION OF BOOKS

In the course of an investigation carried on several years ago by the committee of the American Historical Association on History in Schools, several members were impressed by the repeatedly expressed desire of teachers for a list of books for outside reading in history in schools. To meet that need, this present report has been made by joint committees of three History Teachers' Associations, on the basis of evidence from successful teachers of history in secondary schools.

While the present committee is responsible for any errors of omission or commission in this report, gratitude should be expressed to the chairman and other members of the American Historical Association's Committee on History in Schools for kindly co-operation. At once upon the appointment of the latter committee at New Haven, December, 1922, the offer was made to turn over the present project to that committee. This friendly attempt at "passing the buck" was reciprocated with equal friendliness and the hope expressed informally by those members consulted that the work already begun by the regional associations of history teachers should be carried on by them. Since then, members of the American Historical Association Committee have been consulted from time to time; members of that committee of earlier years have co-operated; and one of the former and one of the present members of that committee have also served on our committee. Moreover, the present work, before being put into final form, was submitted to the chairman of the Committee on History in the Schools of the American Historical Association for criticism and for suggestions as to ways of bringing the report most effectively before teachers of history.

The joint committees of school and college teachers appointed by the New England History Teachers' Association, the History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland, and the History Teachers' Section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association determined not to make up a list by themselves, but rather to find out what books had proven most useful to the real boy and girl, the actual "John" and "Maggie" in high school. Accordingly, the judgment as to what historical books had been "*found in actual experience most valuable and interesting to pupils in secondary schools*" was asked from 350 successful teachers of history in schools in all parts of the country. There are many other successful teachers whose judgment would be valuable. To select these successful teachers, a hundred competent judges (teachers of history in both colleges and schools—many of whom had held responsible positions

in historical associations—professors of education and other college officers dealing with secondary teachers) were asked to report each a few successful school teachers of history whose judgment would be worth following.

One hundred and ten such successful teachers of history in large and small secondary schools in twenty-seven states and from all sections of the country replied. Upon their judgment of what books have actually proved most interesting and valuable to their pupils, the committee has based its lists.

It would have been easy for the committee, but less useful for the schools, simply to list arbitrarily the books most frequently recommended. But a list based entirely on mere frequency of recommendation might prove an ill-balanced list, too exclusively devoted to one type of book, for example, novels, or general sketches or "Readings"; or it might fail to include some vital aspect or period of history. To secure balance and avoid glaring omissions or comparatively useless duplications, and in some cases to ensure the book of greater historical value, the committee has selected from those books found useful in schools, a list of ten which seem to the committee most valuable and at same time forming a well balanced, though small list. This especially recommended list of ten books is printed in italics.

The ten books in italics in Ancient, in European, in English, and in American history should prove useful, especially to the less experienced teacher, or to the school with limited library. This minimum list of ten books might properly be utilized (especially in the smaller communities) in appeals to the school authorities or the public for better books to aid in making better citizens. There is scriptural warrant for a group of little influence daring to point out the inefficiency of trying to make bricks without straw.

The longer list of books recommended by no fewer than four teachers should prove useful to larger communities or schools, or to the teacher who may be able to make individual choice of those books which the teacher and pupil with peculiar conditions may find most useful in increasing the school library. No such list can be comprehensive; nor should it ever be used to cramp the teacher's initiative or the pupil's interest.

There is also a list of recent books recommended by the committee as likely to prove useful, though not yet as fully tested as the older books; and a list of novels most frequently reported by teachers as interesting to pupils.

OMISSIONS

Manifestly any limited list must omit many desirable titles. There has been no attempt to include standard works of general reference like encyclo-

pedias or atlases. It seemed, also, obvious that a list of books for reading *in addition* to the textbook should not include textbooks designed primarily for schools. Additional reading should be not in other textbooks, which usually add little in either quantity or quality, but rather in books of better quality, which should lead pupils to digest less superficial treatment.

No attempt has been made to differentiate between the needs of the Junior High School, the Senior High School, or the ordinary High School. In view of the complexity and uncertainties of the problem involved, that must be left to the individual teacher or school. Nor has there been a separation between different kinds of books; for example, between those which are intended to excite interest and those which are useful for supplying information. The line is, of course, easy to draw in some cases (see e. g., the last three titles in English history); but often what proves dull to some pupils might be interesting to others and vice versa. "I cannot account for the amount of interest taken in this book," writes an experienced teacher, about an Economic History. The impossibility of knowing beforehand what may appeal to an individual pupil, or to explain why Johnnie likes what Maggie rejects, justifies a considerable range of books and experimenting to find out by trial and error what appeals to different types of pupils and under differing circumstances. There is, however, great need of the exercise of such judgment rather than mechanical acceptance of books simply because they have been so often inflicted on earlier generations. On the whole subject of collateral reading, including its objects, and discriminations as to kind of materials, there is valuable information which should be read widely in Henry Johnson's "Teaching of History," ch. xiii. (Macmillan, 1916.) Rolla M. Tryon, "The Teaching of History in Junior and Senior High Schools," ch. ix, deals with the same subject in these types of schools. (Ginn, 1921.)

It did seem logical to separate history and fiction. A separate list is therefore appended of novels on which there seemed to be some consensus of opinion among secondary teachers as to the power of these books to interest pupils.

For local history, specific books obviously cannot be given in a general list intended for use all over the country. The resourceful teacher will find local history (and sometimes local romance) stimulating alike to himself and his pupils. It is a field where first-hand evidence often proves available and where the pupils' interest has natural roots.

RECENT BOOKS BELIEVED LIKELY TO PROVE USEFUL

At the suggestion of teachers in high schools there is added a supplementary list of a few books in each field which have been recently published and not yet tried out and thoroughly proven in many schools, but which a small number of qualified teachers in both school and college have reported as likely to prove useful.

This list of recent books is not offered with the same confidence as the list of books proven by years of use and by many teachers to be available. On the other hand, these recent and therefore less tested books should aid in checking the unreasoning use of such hackneyed books as are not the best but only the longest published and therefore the most familiar and most frequently recommended. Secondary school teachers who have asked for this list have also suggested that it would be of value, if from time to time some committee should call attention to recent books likely to prove of especial value to teachers and pupils in secondary schools. This suggestion is passed on for the consideration of the American Historical and other Associations of teachers of history and of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK. We also venture to suggest that any criticisms of this present report, together with suggested additions, might be offered either to the chairman of the Committee on History in Schools of the American Historical Association or, if preferred, to any member of the undersigned joint committee of History Teachers' Associations.

As the committee concludes its work, begun and carried on in the spirit of co-operation through the kindly helpfulness of hundreds of busy teachers, to all of whom grateful appreciation is felt, we venture to express the hope that it will continue to be regarded, utilized and criticized in a like friendly spirit of co-operation.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS; REVIEWS OF BOOKS

For information as to books in history the following are useful to teachers:

Channing, Hart and Turner, Guide to the Study and Reading of American History. (Revised and augmented edition, Ginn, 1912.) Includes a "Classified Bibliography," "Historical Reading," and 350 pages of specific page references on chronologically arranged topics in American History.

A Guide to Historical Literature, edited by a committee of the American Historical Association. G. M. Dutcher, H. R. Shipmen, S. B. Fay, A. H. Shearer, W. H. Allison. Not yet published. Is expected to contain estimates of several thousand books on History of Europe, America, Asia, and Africa.

A convenient list of recent books appearing each month is available in each issue of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK (McKinley Pub. Co., Phila.).

Book reviews of historical material are to be found in THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK (monthly), or more fully and somewhat more critically in the *American Historical Review* (quarterly, Macmillan, N. Y.).

I. LISTS

List of books in Ancient, European, American and English History, reported by 110 successful teachers of history in secondary schools, as "found in actual experience most interesting and valuable to pupils in secondary schools for additional reading, outside the textbook."

Arranged in order of frequency with which books are reported by these teachers.

The number of teachers so reporting is placed at right, directly after title.

The ten books italicized are recommended by the committee as a minimum, on basis of historical value and fair distribution as to periods or aspects of history.

The "Additional Desirable Books" are likewise recommended. They should prove useful for meeting individual preferences or local needs (for which purposes some books should prove more satisfactory than those in the minimum list of ten). This additional list may well be used for a gradual increase of the school library from year to year.

ANCIENT HISTORY

List of Ten Books

		State Univ. or Dept. Educ., etc., recommending*
	No. teachers recommending	
Davis, W. S.,	<i>Readings in Ancient History</i> (Allyn)	32 Ia., Ill., N. Y., Wis.
Davis, W. S.,	<i>A Day in Old Athens</i> (Allyn)	23 Ia., N. Y.
Johnston, H. W.,	<i>Private Life of the Romans</i> (Scott)	18 Ia., Ill., N. Y., Wis.
Plutarch,	<i>Lives</i> (Dutton's Everyman's Library; also various other editions)	17 Ia., N. Y., Wis.
Either		
Gulick, C. B.,	<i>Life of the Ancient Greeks</i> (Appleton)	12 Ia., Ill., Wis.
or		
Tucker, T. G.,	<i>Life in Ancient Athens</i> (Macmillan)	16 Ia., Ill., N. Y., Wis.
Tucker, T. G.,	<i>Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul</i> (Macmillan)	11 N. Y.
Hopkinson, L. W.,	<i>Greek Leaders</i> (Houghton)	9 N. Y.
Oman, C. W. C.,	<i>Seven Roman Statesmen</i> (Longmans)	9 Ia., N. Y., Wis.
Seignobos, C.,	<i>History of Ancient Civilization</i> , trans. and ed. by A. H. Wilde (Scribner)	7 Ia., Ill., Wis.
Emerton, E.,	<i>Introduction to Middle Ages</i> (Ginn) (Recommended for use in both Ancient and in European History)	9 Ia., Ill., N. Y.

Additional Desirable Books Recommended by at Least Four Schools

Robinson, C. E.,	Days of Alkibiades	7
Baikie,	Sea Kings of Crete	5
Preston and Dodge,	Private Life of the Romans	5
Mahaffy,	Social Life in Greece	5
Webster, and Botsford,	Readings in Ancient History	4
Fling,	Source Book in Ancient Greek History	4
Church,	Roman Life in the Days of Cicero	4
Blümner,	Home Life of the Ancient Greeks (trans. from German by Alice Zimmern)	4
Bury,	History of Greece	4
Guerber,	Myths of Greece and Rome	4
Maspero,	Ancient Egypt and Assyria	4
Tarbell,	History of Greek Art	4
Herodotus,	History	4
Wheeler,	Alexander the Great	4
Botsford,	Source Book of Ancient History	4

* NOTE: *Explanation of Abbreviations.*

Ia. = University of Iowa Extension Bulletin, No. 86, February, 1923, "Aids for History Teachers, The High School Library," based on ninety-six replies from Iowa teachers.

Ill. = Illinois Department of Public Instruction, Circular 120, "A Working Library." Prepared by Hanna and Thrasher, Supervisors of High Schools, 1920.

Miss. V. = H. C. Hill, "Final Report of Committee on Standardizing Library Work and Library Equipment for History in Secondary Schools," based on replies from five hundred and twenty secondary schools in thirteen states in Mississippi Valley. Published in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Extra Number, November, 1921, pp. 373-389. (Proceedings, 1919-20.) Portion of report published in *School Review*, February, 1921, and also in *HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*, October, 1921.

N. Y. = University of State of New York, State Department of Education, "Suggested Readings in History," 1922-23.

Okl. = "Books Required for Accredited Schools," Oklahoma.

Unif. Entr. Req. Eng. = National Conference on Uniform Entrance Requirements in English, adopted by College Entrance Examination Board, for 1923-25, 1926-28.

Wis. = List recommended by Department of History of University of Wisconsin, "for supplementary reading... minimum expenditures."

As such lists are revised, and also others issued in other states from time to time, teachers are urged to secure latest lists from their own State Department of Public Instruction, or University, or its department of history or education.

EUROPEAN HISTORY

List of Ten Books

<i>List of Ten Books</i>		<i>No. teachers recommending</i>	<i>State Univ. or Dept. Educ., etc., recommending</i>
Either			
Robinson, J. H.,	<i>Readings in European History</i> (Ginn)	15	Ia., Ill., Okla.
or	(For courses covering only the modern period)		(Iowa gives choice between these two.)
Robinson, J. H.,	<i>Readings in Modern European History</i> (Ginn)	12	Ia., Miss., N. Y.
and Beard, C. A.,		14	Ill., Okla.
Tappan, E. M.,	<i>When Knights Were Bold</i> (Houghton)	12	Ill., N. Y., Miss V., Wis.
Mathews, S.,	<i>The French Revolution</i> (Longmans)		
Either			
Hazen, C. D.,	<i>Modern European History</i> (American Historical Series, Holt, 1919, to beginning of War, 1914. Hazen's <i>Modern Europe</i> , Holt, 1920, a revision of the above, with added chapters on "England in the Seventeenth Century," "France Under Louis XIV," "The Industrial Revolution," "World War," "Making the Peace," extends to 1919.)		
or			
Hayes, C. J. H.,	<i>Political and Social History of Modern Europe</i> (Macmillan) (Especially Volume 2, Chapters on "The Industrial Revolution," "Social Factors in Recent European History, 1871-1914," "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1867-1914," "The Russian Empire, 1855-1914," and "The New Imperialism and the Spread of European Civilization in Asia.")	12	N. Y., Miss. V.
		12	Ia., Miss. V., N. Y., Okla.
Lowell, E. J.,	<i>The Eve of the French Revolution</i> (Houghton)	11	Ia., Miss. V., Ill.
Emerton, E.,	<i>Introduction to the Middle Ages</i> (Ginn)	9	Ia., Ill., N. Y.
Munro, D. C.,	<i>History of the Middle Ages</i> (Appleton, 1902) (The more recent book by the same author, entitled, "The Middle Ages, 395-1272" [Century Historical Series, 1921], treats the subject more fully. See under "RECENT BOOKS" below.)	8	Ill., Wis.
Jessopp, A.,	<i>The Coming of the Friars</i> (Putnam) (Useful also for English History)	7	Ill., N. Y.
Adams, G. B.,	<i>Growth of the French Nation</i> (Macmillan)	6	Ill., N. Y.
Hayes, C. J. H.,	<i>A Brief History of the Great War</i> (Macmillan)	4	Ia., N. Y.
<i>Additional Desirable Books Recommended by at Least Four Schools</i>			
Hazen,	<i>Europe Since 1815</i> (The revised edition, 2 vols., with chapters on World War and Peace of Versailles, brings narrative to 1923. Holt, Amer. Historical Series, 1923.)	17	Ia., Ill., N. Y., Okla.
Van Loon,	<i>Story of Mankind</i>	13	
Emerton,	<i>Introduction to Middle Ages</i> (Recommended in minimum list of ten in Ancient History; should be included in European if not already made available through Ancient History.)	9	Ia., Ill., N. Y.
Schapiro,	<i>Modern and Contemporary European History</i>	10	N. Y., Ia., Miss. V.
Thorndike,	<i>History of Medieval Europe</i>	6	Wis.
Robinson and Beard,	<i>Development of Modern Europe</i>	6	Ill., Miss V., N. Y., Okla.
Davis,	<i>Roots of the War</i>	6	Miss. V., N. Y.
Seignobos,	<i>History of Medieval and Modern Civilization</i>	5	N. Y.
Hazen,	<i>Fifty Years of Europe, 1870-1919</i> (Chapters from his <i>Modern European History</i> , with some changes, and the addition of a chapter on the Great War. Holt, 1919.)	5	N. Y.
Gibbons,	<i>The New Map of Europe</i>	4	N. Y.
Seymour,	<i>Diplomatic Background of the War</i>	4	N. Y.

Davis, Seeböhm,	Life on a Medieval Barony Era of the Protestant Revolution (To supplement material on Reformation, especially in view of possible choice between Hazen and Hayes, Vol. II. Especially valuable and interesting are Seeböhm's chapters on grievances and revolts of peasants; Peasants' War of 1525; "General Results of Era"; "Economic Results.")	4 2	N. Y., Okla., Wis.
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ENGLISH HISTORY

List of Ten Books

		No. teachers recommending	State Univ. or Dept. Educ., etc., recommending
Cheyney, E. P.,	<i>Industrial and Social History of England</i> (Macmillan)	29	Ia., Ill., Okla., N. Y., Wis.
Green, J. R.,	<i>Short History of the English People</i> (Amer. Book Co.)	13	Ill., Miss. V., Okla.
Cheyney, E. P.,	<i>Readings in English History</i> (Ginn)	13	Ill., N. Y.
Tickner, F. W.,	<i>Social and Industrial History of England</i> (Longmans)	8	N. Y.
Jessopp, A.,	<i>Coming of the Friars</i> (Putnams)	7	Ill., N. Y.
Tuell, H., and Hatch, R. W.,	<i>Selected Readings in English History</i> (Ginn)	6	Ill., Wis.
Quennell, M.,	<i>History of Everyday Things in England</i> (Scribner)	5	Okla.
Strachey, L.,	<i>Queen Victoria</i> (Harcourt)	5	
Traill, H. D.,	<i>Social England</i> (Putnams)	4	
One of the three following general books on English History:			
Fletcher, C. R. L.,	<i>History of England</i> (Clarendon Press)	3	
Mowat, R. B.,	<i>History of Great Britain</i> (Oxford Univ. Press)	2	
Cross, A. L.,	<i>A Shorter History of England and Greater Britain</i> (Macmillan)	1	N. Y., Okla., Wis.

"Fletcher is valuable for descriptions of economic conditions and lively characterizations of types of people."

"Mowat is useful for its constant quotations and illustrations from contemporary sources." 3 vols.
"Is more adapted to high school than to college pupils."

"Cross is suggested for its comprehensive and its usefulness, not for reading, but for verification of details."

AMERICAN HISTORY

List of Ten Books

Wilson, W.,	<i>Division and Reunion</i> (Longmans)	25	Ill., Miss. V., N. Y., Wis.
Hart, A. B.,	<i>Formation of the Union</i> (Longmans)	22	Ia., Ill., Miss. V., N. Y., Wis.
Hart, A. B.,	<i>American History Told by Contemporaries</i> (Macmillan)	15	Ia., Ill., N. Y., Okla.
Fiske, J.,	<i>Critical Period of American History</i> (Houghton)	12	Ill., N. Y., Okla., Wis.
Bogart, E. L.,	<i>Economic History of the United States</i> (Longmans)	11	Ia., Miss. V., N. Y., Wis.
Channing, E.,	<i>A History of the United States</i> (Macmillan) (Five vols. already published.)	10	Ill., Okla.
Egglesston, E.,	<i>Beginners of a Nation</i> (Appleton)	8	Ill., N. Y.
Lingley, C. R.,	<i>Since the Civil War</i> (Century)	6	N. Y.
Bryce, J.,	<i>American Commonwealth</i> (Macmillan)	5	N. Y., Ill., Wis.
Franklin, B.,	<i>Autobiography</i> (Dutton, Everyman's Library; also various other editions)	4	Ia., N. Y.

Additional Desirable Books Recommended by at Least Four Schools

Elson, Thwaites,	History of the United States The Colonies	25 24	Miss. V., N. Y. Ill., Miss. V., N. Y., Wis.
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Bassett,	Short History of United States	21	Ill., N. Y., Wis.
Rhodes,	History of the United States Since 1850	19	N. Y.
Roosevelt,	Winning of the West	14	Ia., N. Y.
Halsey,	Great Epochs of American History	12	Miss. V.
Haworth,	United States in Our Own Times	11	Miss. V., N. Y.
Paxson,	New Nation	11	
Sparks,	The Expansion of the American People	10	Ia., Ill., N. Y.
Fiske,	The American Revolution	9	N. Y.
Wilson,	History of the American People	8	
Paxson,	Recent History of the United States	8	Ia., N. Y., Wis.
Muzzey,	Readings in American History	7	Miss. V., N. Y.
McMaster,	History of the People of the United States	7	Okla.
McLaughlin,	Readings in the History of the American Nation	7	Okla.
Earle,	Home Life in Colonial Days	6	N. Y.
Fish,	Development of American Nationality	6	Miss. V., Ia., N. Y.
Burgess,	The Middle Period	6	N. Y.
Andrews,	The United States in Our Own Times	6	N. Y.
Walker,	Making of the Nation	5	
Tarbell,	Life of Lincoln	5	
Sparks,	Men Who Made the Nation	5	N. Y., Wis.
Schouler,	History of the United States	5	(N. Y. rec. Vol. 7)
Parkman,	Works (in part)	5	
Elson,	Sidelights on American History	5	N. Y., Miss. V.
Becker,	Beginnings of the American People	5	N. Y.
Parkman,	Struggle for a Continent	4	
Parkman,	Oregon Trail	4	Ia., Ill., N. Y.
<hr/>			
Charnwood,	Abraham Lincoln	4	Unif. Entr. Req.
Coman,	Industrial History of the United States	4	Eng., 1923-25, Wis.
Dodd,	Expansion and Conflict	4	Miss. V., N. Y.
Hart,	Social and Economic Forces in American History	4	N. Y.
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II. RECENT BOOKS LIKELY TO PROVE USEFUL

Supplementary list of comparatively recent books, not yet so thoroughly tested, but suggested as *likely* to prove useful to secondary school pupils. Based upon 30 replies to a supplementary questionnaire to a few college and secondary teachers. Books selected were recommended by at least two teachers, at least one being a teacher in a secondary school.

ANCIENT HISTORY

- Botsford, G. W., Hellenic History (Macmillan, 1922), Iowa. ("Unfinished at author's death. A book which a teacher should know." "Fair review of literature, art, philosophy; chief value is in the political history.")
Ferrero, G., and Barbagallo, C., Short History of Rome. (2 Vols., Putnam, 1918-19.)
Frank, T., History of Rome. (Holt, American Historical Series, 1923.)
Van Hook, L. R., Greek Life and Thought. (Columbia University Press, 1923.)

EUROPEAN AND ENGLISH HISTORY

- Munro, D. C., The Middle Ages, 395-1272. (Century, Historical Series, 1921.) ("Simple, clear, yet authoritative. Gives the best of reference material for high school pupils on such topics as the German Migrations, Feudalism, Mohammed, Charlemagne, Crusades, etc.")
Davis, W. S., Life on a Medieval Barony. (Harper, 1923.) ("The daily interests of castle, town and manor, together with account of asceticism. Vivid, interesting and well within the grasp of high school pupil.")
Robinson, H., The Development of the British Empire. (Houghton, Mifflin, 1922.) ("Partly descriptive, but largely historical, and more up to date than the standard texts ordinarily used.")

Trevelyan, G. M., British History in the Nineteenth Century. (Longmans, 1922.) ("Best one volume work available for the history of Great Britain during the last century. Excellently written." Quoted by permission from forthcoming Guide to Historical Literature, by Committee of American Historical Association.)
Gooch, G. P., History of Modern Europe, 1878-1919. (Cassell, 1923.)

AMERICAN HISTORY

- Ogg, F. A., The Reign of Andrew Jackson (1919).
Orth, S. P., Our Foreigners (1920).
Dodd, W. E., The Cotton Kingdom (1919).
Stephenson, N. W., Lincoln and the Union (1918).
Hendrick, B. J., The Age of Big Business (1919).
Moody, J., The Masters of Capital (1919).
Seymour, Chas., Woodrow Wilson and the World War (1921).
White, S. E., The Forty-niners (1921).
(These eight volumes from the *Chronicles of America*, Yale Press, are specifically recommended by several teachers. Eight teachers recommended the general series, without naming those books which had proven useful. "Presentation is characterized by judiciousness of material, and freshness and picturesqueness." A less expensive, textbook, edition was published in 1921.)
Greene, E. B., Foundations of American Nationality. (Before 1789.) (American Book Co., 1922.) Iowa. (A scholarly, well-balanced, and well-written contribution to colonial history.)
Morison, S. E., The Maritime History of Massachusetts. (Houghton, Mifflin, 1921.) ("Boys like story of his clipper ships.")
Schlesinger, A. M., New Viewpoints in American History. (Macmillan, 1922.) Iowa.
Charnwood, L. D., Theodore Roosevelt. (Atlantic Monthly Press, 1923.)

- Stephenson, N. W., Lincoln; An Account of His Personal Life. (Bobbs, Merrill, 1922.) Iowa. (Well-written, scholarly contribution to an understanding of the difference between the earlier Lincoln and the Lincoln "deepened by the ordeal of war." A story of the development of the inner life of a man. Fascinating and instructive to the teacher and worth trying with pupils.)
- Turner, F. J., The Frontier in American History. (Holt, 1920.)
- Dodd, W. E., Woodrow Wilson and His Work. (Doubleday, Page, 1920.)
- Pupin, M. I., From Immigrant to Inventor. (Scribner, 1923.) (Won Pulitzer Prize for best American biography published, 1923. "An inspiration to any fellow.")

III. NOVELS

The committee has not undertaken to pronounce upon the comparative historical value of over 150 novels recommended by teachers. Fiction may be used by the skilful teacher, not merely to excite fancy or vague interest, but to help a really interested and intellectual pupil to go further and learn some reliable history and possibly take a first step in a life-long task of trying to distinguish between fact and fiction on some not too difficult point. A wise teacher and a growing pupil might profit much by some discrimination between the uses and abuses of what is curiously called "historical fiction." For example, the danger of over-emphasis of the atypical, the startling, the "run to rescue" might be corrected by getting the pupil to read about the more sober but more lasting contribution of ordinary citizens somewhat like the pupil himself. Dickens' "Tale of Two Cities" might have some of its misapprehensions lessened by leading the pupil to see the more constructive side of the Revolution (neglected in the novel), as brought out in Hazen, or Mathews, or Hayes, or in the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789. Kingsley's "Westward, Ho!" might induce an awakened pupil, interested in both history and

literature, to read some of Hakluyt's Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen. The novelist cannot afford to spoil his story by too close adherence to fact, and the pupil should recognize that his own "good idea" of the period may be based on fancy rather than fact. One frank writer of so-called "historical fiction" advised readers who wished to know history to seek it not in his novel, but in the books of history which he had himself used. The manifest power of fiction to interest should not blind the teacher or pupil to the query as to what purpose is subserved, and what kind of interest is aroused. In fiction, as in financial investment, one may easily be misled into putting too great weight upon interest and too little upon security. Would it not be possible for a well-equipped teacher to capitalize the "moment of arrested attention" in an exceptional pupil and help him to appreciate real historic imagination based upon solid facts, as illustrated in Parkman's "lively and scholarly account" of the Spanish attack upon the French Huguenots in Florida in his "Pioneers of France," or the well-documented scalping exploit of Hannah Dustan of Haverhill in Parkman's "Frontenac and New France"?

To give fiction its due, it is only fair to add that novels written by men with historical training, and based upon real knowledge of the history and literature of the period (like Kingsley's "Westward, Ho!", Reade's "Cloister and the Hearth," or Davis' "Friend of Cæsar," and "Victor of Salamis") may give the pupil a lively appreciation of conditions under which people lived. A few such novels put things together in a living whole and visualize life (in a way in which the historical scholar so often fails to do), and may make contribution to the development of sound imagination and healthy sympathies, without which boys and girls would be less lovable, less useful human beings than they really are.

NOVELS Recommended by Teachers in Secondary Schools

	ANCIENT	No. teachers recommending	State Univ. or Dept. of Educ., etc., recommending
Davis,	A Friend of Cæsar	15	Ia., N. Y., Wis.
Davis,	A Victor of Salamis	14	Ia., N. Y., Wis.
Bulwer-Lytton,	Last Days of Pompeii	11	Ia., Ill., N. Y., Wis.
Wallace,	Ben Hur	8	Ia., N. Y.
Snedeker,	The Spartan	6	N. Y.
EUROPEAN AND ENGLISH			
Scott,*	Ivanhoe *	10	Ia., Ill., N. Y. Unif. Entr. Rec. in Eng., 1926-28. Wis.
Stevenson,	The Black Arrow	7	Ia., Ill., N. Y.
Dickens,*	Tale of Two Cities *	6	Unif. Ent. Req. Eng., 1923-28. Wis.
Scott,*	Quentin Durward *	5	Ia., Ill. Unif. Ent. Req. in Eng., 1923-28.

Pyle,	Men of Iron	5
Scott,*	Talisman *	5
Scott,*	Kenilworth *	4 Ia., Ill., N. Y., Wis.
Doyle,	White Company	4 Wis.
Reade,	Cloister and the Hearth	3 Ia., Ill., Miss. V., N. Y., Wis.
Kingsley,*	Westward, Ho!*	2 Miss. V., N. Y. Unif. Ent. Req. Eng., 1926-28, "Comprehensive List."
AMERICAN		
Johnston,	To Have and To Hold	8
Churchill,	Richard Carvel	7 Ia., N. Y., Wis.
Churchill,	The Crisis	7 Ia., Miss. V., N. Y., Wis.
Churchill,	The Crossing	6 N. Y.
Atherton,	The Conqueror	5 Ia.
Cooper,*	The Last of the Mohicans *	3 Unif. Entr. Req. in Eng., 1926-28.

Information regarding the period treated and also something as to nature of novels may be found in such books as the following:

Baker, F. A., *A Guide to Historical Fiction*, new and enlarged edition, 1914, gives brief synopsis of about 5,000 or 6,000 novels. N. Y., Macmillan.

Kaye, J. B., *Historical Fiction Chronologically and Historically Related*. Snowdon Pub. Co., Chicago, 1920. Gives historical outlines and descriptions of periods with rather more space to this than to characterization of novels. Only about 950 titles listed.

* NOTE. The "Comprehensive List" (for use in the Comprehensive Examination), recommended by the Uniform Entrance Requirements in English, includes: "Scott's Novels," "Dickens' Novels," "Cooper's Novels," Lytton's "Last Days of Pompeii," Kingsley's "Westward Ho!"

JOINT COMMITTEE OF HISTORY TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS ON HISTORICAL READINGS FOR SCHOOLS

New England History Teachers' Association

Herbert D. Foster, Dartmouth College.

Archibald Freeman, Phillips Academy, Andover.

Philip P. Chase (formerly of Milton Academy, Mass.), Harvard University.

History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland

Dixon R. Fox, Columbia University.

Daniel C. Knowlton, Lincoln School, New York City.

Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Teachers' Section

Wayland J. Chase, University of Wisconsin.

Howard C. Hill, University of Chicago High School.

History and the Social Studies in the Junior High School

Beginning with the next issue (November) and running throughout the school year, The Historical Outlook will publish a series of articles by Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton, of Lincoln School, Columbia University, treating of the teaching of the Social Studies, in the Junior High School.

Among the subjects to be discussed are:

"Building a Course in Social Studies for the Junior High School"; "History in Its Relation to Junior High School"; "Tools and Workroom"; "Syllabus, Textbook"; "Setting the Problem"; "Making the Teaching Concrete"; "The Class Session"; "Socialized Recitation"; "Supervised Study"; "Typical Class Sessions"; "Outcomes and Tests of Progress"; Teacher Training and Preparation"; and others.

**Tell other Teachers about this series
Do not let your own Subscription expire**

Comments and Criticisms upon the History Inquiry

PREPARED BY REQUEST FOR THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK

The Survey Shows Choatic Conditions

"The History Inquiry" report shows the complexity of the problem of the high school courses in the social sciences. Both the historical and present-day summaries call attention to marked tendencies. The courses are no longer fairly uniform as they were a few years ago; but it is certainly possible to unify the courses if we keep in mind two tendencies emphasized in the report. The first of these is the demand for more socialized material; the second the trend toward history that looks forward into the future rather than back into the past.

Although "The History Inquiry" was simply in the nature of a survey, the results are more indefinite than one would have expected. It is true that the report of the Committee of Seven has no longer the vogue that it had, and the 1916 report of the Committee of the National Education Association has not been adopted literally by very many communities. Nevertheless, this new report does not bring out sharply the character of the new adoptions, although it does make clear the chaotic condition to which our present attempted shifts have brought us. It would seem to show the imperative need of giving to a correlating body, such as the National Council of the Social Studies, more influence, power, and support in developing and in carrying through a constructive policy or program. In a sense, publishers have more influence than our national societies of experts in any one field; for, so long as the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Economic Association, and others do not co-operate perfectly, the teachers must either develop their own course by experimentation, must follow one advocated by but one of those associations, or they must make the best use that they can of what the publishers provide. It is possible that the conflicting preferences, desires, and interests of the different groups cannot be harmonized and co-ordinated. But a concerted policy should be attempted, and that can probably best be developed by a group of experienced high school teachers working with representatives of organizations which represent the different social studies.

If the *unity* of the high school courses in the social sciences is to be secured not by *uniformity of courses offered*, but by *continuity of courses taken*, we have simplified our problem. In the first place, we can offer alternate sets of courses, even in the same school. In the second place, we need not require the same amount of social science of every graduate. Assuming that American History and Civics are absolute requirements for all, extra courses that go with these can be given to different groups of stu-

dents. Not all need take the same amount or the same subjects. The student who wishes to specialize in history can take his two years of European history, which would certainly make his course a unified one. The student who desires, or can take, only Economics and Civic problems can supplement his American History and Civics with those. The student who wishes, and can take, a full, well balanced, course can have citizenship and World History before his American History, and Economics or Problems of Democracy with or after his Civics. These suggestions on unity, not uniformity, seem to fit in with the conditions and tendencies brought out by Dr. Dawson's valuable report; they are merely suggestions of "one way out" of the dilemma presented by it.

The educational world, in general, and the high schools in particular, owe a great debt to Dr. Dawson and his associates, if we begin where they left off and develop a more unified and constructive program of the social studies than we now have.

R. L. ASHLEY.

Pasadena, Cal.

Five Queries upon the Inquiry

Teachers and supervisors of history are likely to be in general agreement with these findings of the History Inquiry—that the status of all history, except American, in secondary schools is precarious just now; that administrators are looking somewhat vaguely to the social studies for leadership in the liberalizing and stabilizing type of education which the age seems to demand; and that, for the moment, at least, the newer entrants among these social studies, rather than history of the Committee of Seven brand, are felt to hold out promise of training in the understanding of modern problems and in the sense of social responsibility.

Without attempting to argue whether this is all as it should be, a few impressions and queries from the angle of a high school teacher of history may be pertinent:

(1) The report of the Inquiry laments the lack of uniformity among high schools. The feeling seems to be that offerings and requirements in the social studies ought to be standardized throughout the land. But is such a condition to be expected or desired, especially in these indeterminate post-bellum days? Is not the very sense of a quest and of unsatisfied interrogating a wholesome omen? Are we not fortunate in having a political system under which each state, as well as scores of cities and towns, may serve as an educational laboratory? As long as each laboratory is alertly experimenting, may we not trust

the good sense of American educational thinkers to select with discrimination, given time to observe and to try?

(2) In discussions of present chaotic conditions assertions or assumptions appear that the social studies, especially history, form the core of the curriculum—the very heart of the educational menu in high schools. But do the facts warrant any such confident feeling? While many a college here and there requires no history whatever among its fifteen entrance units, while high school diplomas in numerous cities and towns may be earned without even a course in American history, and while those schools and systems which go the farthest in requiring social studies would scarcely accord them rank with English, for instance, the conclusion emerges that the supposed "core" is rather diminutive.

(3) Moreover, has the quality of teaching in history reacted a plane which entitles it to rank as the central part of an educational scheme? For those of us who earn daily bread by teaching or supervising the teaching of history it is cheering to feel that our subject is the most liberalizing and educative in the curriculum—and there is good ground for the conviction that such possibilities inhere in it. But shapers of school courses are not to be expected to judge the worth of a subject otherwise than by the way they see it taught. Is it not true that much of the current teaching of history still consists in drill on uninterpreted facts under the spell of impending examinations? Can history aspire to a dignity at the core of the curriculum until it is generally presented in a way to stimulate alert analysis, interpretation, questioning, and judgment on the part of pupils?

(4) Relative to the new allies, "poor relations," social study fringe, or whatever one prefers to label them—may not the same question be raised with even more fairness, perhaps, than in the case of history? Judging by the way these subjects are usually taught, are administrators not justified in many head-shakings? Is economics taught in many high schools with enough simplicity, enough clarity, enough concreteness of application so that young people of seventeen or eighteen years really understand the principles embalmed in the super-technical language of the dismal science? In the newer community civics, sociology, and problem courses, is there enough robustness, enough real study, enough downright mental exertion to warrant according them a place as full-fledged high school studies?

(5) If the way out is to be found in a general recognition of any or all of the social studies as the core of the curriculum, must there not be first a marked vitalization of instruction through better training—mostly self-training—of teachers?

MATTHEW L. DANN.

Richmond Hill High School,
New York City.

The Statistics are Superficial

Professor Dawson's Report obviously falls into three main divisions. The first presents in a convenient form a résumé of all of the important formal attempts to prescribe a Social Studies curriculum for the schools. Of course, this material has been available for years, but it is probably of value in these uncertain times to bring it again to the attention of teachers and particularly to that of newcomers in the field.

The second division contains the compilation of a vast quantity of statistics, a procedure which brings to the mind of the present writer a review of some of the most prominent characteristics of contemporary educational research. We are in the age of the adding machine and the questionnaire, and educators have always been prone to ride their newest hobby to a fall. We now insist that our conclusions be put in terms of arithmetic, and that we have arrived at scientific accuracy when we have assigned to the elements of our discussion places upon a number scale, thus fixing relative weight, merit, or importance. This method works well in scoring a football game or comparing railroad lengths, but there is a question as to its value in the realm of ideas. We have all known that there exists a "Confusion of Tongues." The Inquiry has followed the path of too much so-called research in using a lot of effort to prove by the adding machine what is perfectly obvious.

Material for the tables presented was secured by the other modern shibboleth, the questionnaire. This instrument has such distinct limitations that its use is extremely dangerous. This comes out clearly in the Report. Two kinds of questions were presented, the routine, dealing with names of courses, textbooks, etc., and the deeper sort such as questions 3 and 4 of the first group and the entire second group on page 16 of the Report. Is it not enlightening to note that the latter sort of question gave no results that seemed worthy of tabulation? These questions reach the kernel of the subject, while the former deal with the superficial.

Another thought comes with the emphasis placed upon the *names of courses* given. The live teacher knows that the name under which a history course is given means little. Courses in American History, World History, Civics, Economics and Social Problems, may, in actual classroom practice, present so much in common, both in subject matter and in method, that a mere tabulation of the names of sources tells us little that we want to know.

With these considerations in mind, the conclusion comes that the vast amount of work done by the Inquiry has resulted in giving us little that is new and less that will be of value to those who want to contribute something toward bringing order out of the class in this field. The statistics are superficial to an extreme degree; the problem is much deeper than tables of figures. What we want to know is something along this line. What parts of the sub-

ject matter of history can be taught so as to have societal value and how can that value be realized? To be specific, why do you teach the Monroe Doctrine? Do you teach it topically or chronologically? How much time do you find necessary to put on it? Does your textbook account get across to the pupils? How do you supplement it?

The last section of the Report, the Experiment with a Test, approaches this fundamental angle of the subject. Dr. Wood has made a beginning in the job of telling us something vital about history teaching. If this kind of inquiry can be pursued to compare the value of different sorts of teaching and different treatments of subject matter, we shall get a great amount of help. In this direction lies constructive work for the bettering of Social Studies teaching.

CHARLES E. MARTZ.

Cleveland School of Education,
Cleveland, Ohio.

An Administrator's Opinion

It is a sumptuous tournament that the Inquiry has unrolled before our eyes. To the disinterested citizen-spectator, all the combatants would appear to be justified in their insistent demand for a place in the curricular sun. If we lose history, we lose that sense of chronological perspective, that sense of organic relationship with the past as a living present which is so lacking in our American life and which is the essential apperceptive background for the right assimilation of new ideas and new ideals. If we lose economics, or government, or sociology, we are confronted with a similar impotence toward the causal connections and organic functionings of the social and political structures of the present. Disaster, both to right habits of thinking and to social efficiency, appears to impend if any single one of the four or five aspirants for the central place in the curriculum succumbs. All argue that education in each of these fields is an organic growth and not the mechanical acquisition of subject-matter. This appears to be the reason for the rejection of general history. But for growth and absorption, time is needed; and unless some appropriate composite course is elaborated the administrator knows that the time will not be forthcoming.

Another point overlooked by the curriculum-makers is that many materials which from the point of view of the technical constructor of the criteria of citizenship are futile or puerile, yet do "meet the needs of proper growth in the pupil." After all, it is the "pedagogic interpretation," which must be determinative. Here it is that the Committee on Social Studies and the historians clash. The growing pupil is not interested in the adult point of view, cannot appreciate "deferred values," is unwilling to take his dessicated civic pabulum on faith. There is a gaping chasm between the theoretical curriculum-maker and the teacher of individual growing pupils.

At some points in this growth much material rejected by the professional historian is of immense pedagogic value for engaging the interest of the pupil; and engaging the interest of the pupil is the crux of the whole teaching problem; once this interest is gained, the teaching process is easy. The "committees" represented in the Report are theoretical architects of edifices which the teachers have to build stone by stone and brick by brick. The plans, the blueprints, are easily read, but the construction of the building is a task to which the curriculum-makers offer little inspiration. To use another metaphor, the insertion of the curriculum under the skin of the individual pupil is a task possibly requiring the use of sedatives or of stimulants which are contemptuously rejected by the metaphysicians that make our courses of study. Like the enthusiastic surgeon of the ancient tale, the curriculum-maker is concerned more about the artistic beauty of his operation than about the survival of the patient. Of all intra-cerebral sports, curriculum-making for subjective joy ranks highest. But these joys the work-a-day teacher does not always share.

Again, one is embarrassed here, as always, by the peculiar underlying assumption of the curriculum-makers that if a general agreement is reached by the arbiters on the exact quantity and quality of information that ought to enter into the composition of the ideal citizen, thereby the task of education is forthwith accomplished and the quantum and standards so reached are automatically and dynamically transferred to the organism of the pupil. It is a question, however, with practical teachers, whether, even after all these questions are settled, the average pupil can effectively assimilate the heavy charges of knowledge which the experts prescribe; whether it is possible to arouse at the adolescent stage the interest in the serious problems of life which we see lacking even in the educated adult public; and whether fundamentally and organically the civic and ethical maturity required for the appreciation and apprehension of the big economic, civic, and social problems of organized civilization is not lacking at this age. Again and again the problem reverts to the central importance of teacher training. The brilliant and highly trained teacher, all agree, can make either history or economics or civics, or sociology perform the services and realize the goals that we all have so at heart.

It is also refreshing to see the point emphasized that the herd-movements of superintendents and teachers in the adoption of courses and texts is not a criterion of pedagogic truth. The Great Illusion of the pedagogic world today is that truth can be reached by the simple accumulation of facts and statistics—by induction wrongly so-called. Truth is a qualitative not a quantitative fact. The opinions of a million superintendents, teachers, or even university professors, may not be as decisive for the pedagogic effectiveness and intrinsic value of a given course of study as the judgment of some one man critically and scientifically reached. As Galileo, our great master of scientific method, once said, no number of "plugs" hitched together can attain the speed of a high-bred

race-horse. Truth and value are not reached by popular referenda.

Another embarrassment of us administrators is the fluid nature of the objectives, the changing elusive needs of "citizenship" in its varied vocational, political, and social aspects. We are bewildered as we look into the kaleidoscope, and our practice is the reflection of the cinematic pictures that we see. We flatter ourselves that we pick our texts after mature judgment; we pick them as we pick the losing or winning numbers of a lottery from scraps of paper in a hat. We struggle to meet the demands of all the apostles of reconstruction, change our texts nearly every year, and in our larger schools carry duplicate and parallel courses for those who are graduated and for those who are not graduated, for those who do not go to college and for those who go, in history, in civics, and in all the protean forms of economics and sociology. To express my feelings, I go for language to the Author of Genesis: *Tohu-va-vohu* is the word. All hail to the Jehovah or the Newton who will bring us light!

If the Inquiry performs no other service than that of bringing forcibly home to us all the necessity of compromise on the quantitative approach to our goals, it will have accomplished a splendid purpose.

T. J. McCORMACK.

La Salle-Peru Township High School,
La Salle, Ill.

Caution to be Used in Reading the Survey

Professor Dawson's report has tended to crystallize and focus attention upon the present-day status of the social studies in secondary education. Although it does not portray conditions in as great a number of schools as might be desired by some, it is safe to believe that the number is sufficient to justify an acceptance of the general conclusions reached. These conclusions suffer, however, from the faults inherent in a questionnaire form of investigation, the only means by which such data can be obtained. The reader of the Report should bear in mind, also, that the data represent the answers of teachers and administrators interested in such undertakings and, therefore, they probably reflect conditions in the better and more progressive schools.

Passing from an historical setting of the organization of history courses through committee reports, Professor Dawson sets forth, in the form of a summary in the Report, twelve general impressions gained from his investigation. Here are indicated the loss in popularity of ancient, medieval and English history and the increased interest in modern history; the tendency for American history to be taught in the eleventh grade rather than in the twelfth; the expansion of the curriculum to include in the twelfth year a course in modern problems, sometimes called Problems of Democracy; the general popularity with trained history teachers of a three-year course in history, beginning with the tenth

grade; an acceptance of some form of civics course for the ninth grade; the favor in which is held a general social science course by junior high school administrators; the great amount of time desired for current events; a static condition in the teaching of government; and the imperative need of better trained teachers of the social studies.

On the whole, the General Impressions are well established. The Report has failed to point out, however, that the loss in popularity of ancient, medieval and English history has been evident for some time, possibly for ten years, whereas a growing favor has been accorded in the greatest degree to the twelfth grade course in problems, within the last three or four years. The one-year course in European or World history, also, seems to have made greater headway than the Report indicates. This is apparent when one recalls the number of textbooks for such a course published within the last few years, a fairly certain basis for judgment of new courses. A condition not mentioned, but worth consideration, is the allotment of only one semester to American history in many schools.

Probably the work of the twelfth year problems course has occasioned more discussion than that of any other grade. The need of standardization, the variance in opinion as to what should be presented, and the inadequate training of most teachers, are matters of considerable concern. Furthermore, a purpose of such a course is lost if the teacher cannot present, either through lack of personal training or physical equipment of the school, those problems most pertinent at the time the course is given. Without doubt, a legitimate criticism can be directed against this work, if it is resolved into a course in social economics and no course in government is given in the high school. Yet the writer believes that many teachers present more of governmental function and activity in this course than the Report has conceded.

A question can also be raised as to the ninth-grade course in community civics tending to develop "an emotional regret that things are as bad as they are" rather than producing an understanding of "current constructive political thought."¹ Where this course is allotted a year and given in the form of community civics, there is generally not enough substance in the work even to point out political conditions needing remedy. The favor accorded to a general social science course by junior high school administrators may be prophetic of the future, but certainly at the present time, American history and civics, with possibly some geography, form the core of the work.

In reading the Report it should be taken into account that the table giving the enrollment in different courses in 504 schools may not express the popularity of the courses. Requirements differ in many localities, students being compelled to take courses in one school, in another being permitted to elect them.² This may explain the difference in the attendance in economics and community civics, the latter being a required subject in many places, whereas the former is usually elective.³ An enforced enrollment may also explain why in some cases, "the

American history course reaches more pupils than any other."⁴ Nor should the reader infer that the number of textbooks sold by publishers attests relative popularity.⁵ The greater sale of other social-study books than histories may be due to objections raised by some communities to a frequent change of books. Since history has been taught in most schools for some time, old textbooks may still be in use, while the recently introduced social-study courses receive the new books.

The Report has revealed interesting conditions. It clearly points out that history must present vital and worthwhile facts if it is to retain its place in the curriculum. Although conditions at present may seem chaotic, yet they reflect a desire to develop courses that will function. Certain hopeful tendencies can be found. Such is the inclination to place greater emphasis upon social and economic history than upon the purely political.⁶ Yet hopeful signs are sometimes counteracted by somewhat unnecessary and unfortunate conditions, as in the lack of interest evinced by high school teachers in the work of the elementary school. It is small comfort to declare that social-study teaching may be no worse than that of other subjects of the secondary school.

The Report may contain little that thoughtful students of the problem might not have anticipated. Yet Professor Dawson has made a real contribution in the assembling of facts tending to give point to what has heretofore been mere conjecture, to a clear-cut and impartial presentation of his data, and to focusing attention upon conditions as they are today. The Report should be read by all educators directing the destinies of teachers in training, as well as by teachers, administrators and the makers of curricula in the public schools.

BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE.

University of Iowa.

¹ The History Inquiry, Report of the Director, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

What Ought to be Done?

My first reaction to Professor Dawson's Report was a negative one. After reading it straight through, I had the feeling that it contained too little of what many readers of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK already knew. Personally, I was much disappointed to find but two of the eight sections of the Report devoted to the presentation of the actual finding of the inquiry. I wanted more details concerning the social science courses offered in the 2,404 schools reporting. However, after going through the Report with a class of experienced high school teachers, and after a conference with Professor Dawson concerning the ends he hoped to attain through the Report, I saw that my first reaction was somewhat selfish and decided that

the Report in its present form would probably do more for the cause of history in the high school than it would had eight instead of two sections been devoted to the new materials collected.

A second reaction that I had to the Report was that the statistics presented tell the conditions in but 2,404 high schools in this country. To conclude that conditions exist in all of the high schools of the country similar to those found in the 2,404 is not entirely justifiable. My own experience with investigations of this character leads me to believe that the safe thing to do in such investigation is to label the results in terms of the cases represented. In other words, Section VI of the Report should be designated "Cross-Section of Present Curricula in 2,404 High Schools." This may be too insignificant a point to quibble over; nevertheless, I feel that the reader of the Report should always be conscious of the fact that he is dealing with data from less than one-fifth of all of the high schools in the country.

In spite of what I have said above, I feel that much good will come from the Report. I had no difficulty in agreeing with Professor Dawson after he explained to me what he had in mind in writing the Report. A straight forward statement of what has been happening to history in the high schools during the past two decades ought to do much to convince those interested in history that something will have to be done and done quickly if history is not to disappear as a separate study both from the junior and the senior high schools. For it to thus disappear, would be a calamity to some, while to others its disappearance would be a blessing too long delayed. Believing as I do that history ought to remain in both the junior and the senior high schools as a separate subject, I welcome any statement that promises to strengthen this view.

Just what ought to be done next is difficult for one to say. There may be a way out of the present bewilderment if some individual or group of individuals could but indicate it. Speaking for but one of the social studies, namely, history, I feel that the following things ought to be undertaken soon:

1. A careful, systematic and convincing statement of the place of history in the education of youth.
2. A presentation of the objectives of history in terms of the chief objectives of junior and senior high school education.
3. A statement of the subject-matter of history in terms of the objectives.
4. A statement of standards of attainment in terms of the objectives and the construction of tests to measure the levels of attainments reached.
5. A statement of the "common denominator" of each unit of history in the form of a general organization for teaching purposes.

ROLLO M. TRYON.

School of Education,
University of Chicago.

The Next Step

Professor Dawson's *Survey* makes its contribution in revealing not merely the confusion existing today in the teaching of history, but also the need of doing something to prevent history's being lost in the shuffle.

Possibly its greatest contribution will be made if this painstaking Survey of facts, tendencies and opinions leads those who believe in the fundamental and distinctive contribution of history to sound thinking and sound citizenship to take the next step which the collector of facts felt it was not his function to suggest.

This next step would be to mark out the relations between history and its sister social sciences, so that, by good sense and co-operation, the proper place may be found for each. Otherwise, there is danger that the fundamental and vitally needed training in historical development, and how to get at the facts in historical development may be lost.

Is this not a step which we may rightly expect the Committee on History in Schools of the American

Historical Association to take in co-operation with like committees of other associations?

It was not regarded as a function of the Survey to point out the lack of adequate historical reading in many schools. The trained teachers in the better schools are getting their pupils to read sound historical material. But anyone who has had occasion to get actual data from many schools in various parts of the country becomes convinced that many pupils are reading little or nothing beyond textbooks. Too often the required textbook is supplemented only by another textbook, and the pupil is never led into the larger and more developing books. In some cases, any additional reading is done in so-called "historical fiction." Something beyond this, even in the smaller and less well-equipped schools, must be done and can be done by the determined teacher. Neither teacher nor pupil can grow without learning to digest food that has real nutriment.

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

Dartmouth College,
Hanover, N. H.

Book Reviews

EDITED BY PROFESSOR J. MONTGOMERY GAMBRILLI, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

PSYCHOLOGY AND HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHY

The American Mind in Action. By Harvey O'Higgins and E. H. Reede. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1924. 336 pp. \$3.00.

Woodrow Wilson, a Character Study. By Robert Edwards Annin. Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1924. xxii, 404 pp. \$2.50.

Strenuous Americans. By R. F. Dibble. Boni and Liveright, New York, 1923. 370 pp. \$3.00.

In his exceedingly stimulating work on *New Viewpoints in American History*, Professor Arthur Meier Schlesinger called attention to the fact that the psychological viewpoint was one of the newer contributions to the interpretation of history which he was not at the time prepared to include in his volume, but he pointed out a suggestive series of articles on this subject by O'Higgins and Reede, which had just appeared in *McClure's Magazine* for 1921. These have now been supplemented by several others, together with some chapters of theoretical import, and brought together in an interesting volume which constitutes the most ambitious attempt thus far made to interpret American history and some representative American personality types from the standpoint of modern dynamic psychology.

The importance of the psychological approach to history is quite obvious from the fact that the great majority of human actions, which are the subject matter of history, emerge solely as a product of our mental machinery. The mind receives and transmits the stimuli coming from all possible sources. As Professor Ogburn indicated in a stimulating paper several years ago, even the economic interpretation of history is not fully intelligible, except when viewed from the psychological standpoint. To be sure, psychological and interpretative biography has been attempted from the time of the Greeks, but it was only the most risky guesswork, on account of the fact that the authors knew no psychology and pos-

sesed too little concrete data to make any significant use of it if they had been adequately equipped with psychological knowledge. It is very difficult to convince the average person that common-sense psychology is as impossible and unreliable as common-sense physics or chemistry—in fact, much more so. It possesses about as much validity as the astro-physics which Voliva inculcates in the schools of Zion City. Psychological biography prior to our generation has consisted chiefly of the projection of the writer's own rationalized and misunderstood complexes into the historical characters analyzed. We must then accept the undoubted fact that interpretative biography in the past has been practically worthless, as far as reliable psychological analysis is concerned. Even such a weird and far-fetched product of modern psycho-analytic biography as Freud's *Leonardo Da Vinci* is probably more plausible and accurate than Carlyle's interpretations of the personalities of Cromwell and Frederick the Great.

Thanks to the achievements of psychiatrists and psychologists we now have the scientific technique for character analysis, but we still face the fact of the disheartening paucity of reliable data. If the psychiatrist is often puzzled after one hundred-hour sessions with a patient, during which he has searched the patient's past, and explored his sub-conscious by dream analysis and free-associations, how much more must he be frustrated and handicapped when all the information he possesses concerning an historical character is the prejudiced collection of hearsay anecdotes which constitutes the majority of what we know about some of the most famous of the personages in the past. Especially significant is the fact that childhood experiences are of primary importance in character formation, and it is rarely the case that the future greatness of a man has been perceived in his youth and his every act and aspiration carefully tabulated. Hence, until historical characters establish the practice of submitting to psychoanalysis for the edifi-

cation of posterity, historical biography of an interpretative sort will remain primarily a branch of literature rather than of history and science.

Within these limitations Mr. O'Higgins and Dr. Reed have produced a useful and very stimulating book. They have unquestionably done much to uncover the characters and personality types of some eminent Americans, as well as to illustrate the diverse ways in which the Puritan neurosis has found expression or adjustment in the face of the realities of American life and development. Further progress in the way of psychological interpretation of our culture and of typical citizens can come only through more extended cultivation of the field which they have explored and charted. The characters selected for analysis are the pragmatic Franklin, with his escape from the Puritan bigotry, and his energy and cunning due to compensation for the inferiority complex growing out of the domination of his elder brothers; Emerson, who developed serenity by the introvertive acquisition of an urbane Jehovah-complex which brought God within him; Lincoln, who suffered from cyclothymia, whose marked sympathetic traits were projected self-pity, and who looked upon himself as a vicarious sacrifice; Mark Twain, who fought throughout his life against unconscious fear, an inferiority-complex, and the censorship of mother and wife, and whose wit was in part self-punishment; P. T. Barnum, whose predatory Yankee cunning was exploited in the art of bamboozling the public to the enhancement of his pecuniary status, and was compensated for by lapses into piety, prayer and exhortation; Comstock, the fanatical purist, whose zeal was due to a viciously thorough Puritan religious up-bringing and the luxuriating of the invidious sentiment; Whitman, the narcissistic Quaker, who attempted to secure emancipation from the Puritan mores and attitudes, but never successfully realized the newer adjustments; Longfellow, the romantic Puritan, who solved the eternal conflict by successful amatory and conjugal enterprises; Carnegie, the urbane and amiable Scotchman, whose joviality and serenity were due to a happy absence of the inculcation of Puritanic concepts in youth, and whose later liberality was an extension of youthful provision for his mother; Mark Hanna, the Quaker, who sublimated his conflict successfully as the leader of his gang; Julia Ward Howe, the typical American woman of the Puritan "home and mother" type; Anna Howard Shaw, the spinster rebel against the male-dominated Puritan culture; and Margaret Fuller, the type of the aesthetic rebel against Puritanic American culture. While many of these interpretations seem to the reviewer to rest upon dubious data, they possess more plausibility than any others known to him, and the book as a whole is to be warmly commended to discriminating readers as a contribution to American history of considerable concrete, and high methodological, significance.

Mr. Annin's effort to work out a comprehensive character analysis of the late President Wilson makes no pretense to a knowledge of modern psychological nomenclature and analytical technique. Nor does he attempt to review Mr. Wilson's psycho-genesis to discover the evolution of his particular traits. Rather, he concentrates his attention on typical periods in the life of the late ex-President, such as his Princeton presidency, his New Jersey Governorship, and the Presidency of the United States, with the end in view of illustrating his typical reactions to concrete situations and associated personalities. With the exception of chapters xviii-xix, which are vitiated by complete ignorance on the author's part concerning the actual facts regarding the outbreak of the World War, reasonable impartiality is displayed. Mr. Wilson's rhetorical ability and resourcefulness are well portrayed. While the book throughout conveys the impression that Mr. Wilson was ever primarily personally ambitious, self-seeking, ungrateful and disregardful of his previous obligations and commitments, the work is unquestionably the most important contribution yet made to the analysis of this complex and somewhat baffling personality. It most certainly puts Mr. Wilson's apologists on the defensive. Incidentally, it disrupts one generally accepted notion, namely, that Mr. Wilson was opposed and driven out of Princeton

by capitalistic reactionaries. The wealthiest Trustees and Alumni appear actually to have been numbered among his supporters.

Professor Dibble's work consists of brief but penetrating and brilliantly written biographical sketches of Jesse James, Admiral Dewey, Brigham Young, Frances E. Willard, James J. Hill, P. T. Barnum and Mark Hanna. While making no effort to provide a technical psychological analysis of this somewhat heterogeneous and miscellaneous list of "Strenuous Americans," the author has recreated the personalities and their environments with remarkable skill and accuracy. There is no tendency to project the writer's subjectivity into his characters, and the result is dynamic and realistic biography of the highest type, free from all debilitating moral judgments. The success which he has attained in this series will lead every thoughtful reader to hope that Professor Dibble will give us another volume including the "Strenuous American" and some of his associates and successors. Mr. Wilson, Henry Ford, and Mr. Daugherty should certainly have a place in such a group.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Smith College.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES

- Early Civilization: An Introduction to Anthropology.* By Alexander A. Goldenweiser. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1922. 428 pp. \$3.00.
Man and Culture. By Clark G. Wissler. T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York, 1923. 371 pp. \$2.75.
Man's Prehistoric Past. By H. H. Wilder. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1923. 463 pp. \$5.00.
Anthropology. By A. L. Kroeber. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1923. 523 pp.

Among the "new allies of history" anthropology occupies a place of growing importance, and more and more is providing us with facts and interpretations of fundamental value for the "social studies" now so much under discussion. Yet even five years ago there was no adequate general manual, at least in English, to which workers in the related fields could turn for aid. Anthropology is a very modern science and it has made enormous strides during the past generation. At first its materials were drawn largely from the crude observations of missionaries, accidental travelers, or imperialist officials taking up the white man's burden, and from the more or less fortuitous discovery of little understood material remains of primitive peoples. Out of it all, with improving methods, grew the work of the "classical" authorities, such as Tylor and Morgan, who with Lang, Frazer, and others accumulated a great body of data and developed important and suggestive theories and interpretation, which, however, were naturally speculative and over-facile. As a result many social superstitions still persist and are constantly appearing in new textbooks and the so-called "standard tests." Within the past quarter-century a scientific school has developed rapidly, building more solidly upon the extended and thorough first-hand observations and tests of trained students and drawing upon the resources of allied sciences. The results appeared in periodicals, monographs and reports of learned societies, often in rather technical form. There was no general manual, even on a large section of the field, although there gradually became available such books as Marett's slight but excellent sketch in "The Home University Library," Duckworth's brief and dull, but useful, number of "The Cambridge Manuals," Sollas' *Ancient Hunters*, Osborn's well-illustrated *Men of the Old Stone Age*, which enjoyed a remarkable popular sale, and *The Mind of Primitive Man*, by Professor Franz Boas, perhaps the foremost figure in scientific anthropology and the teacher of two of the authors under review.

In 1920 there appeared Professor R. H. Lowie's *Primitive Society* (reviewed in this department, June, 1922), characterized by thorough scholarship, independent thinking, and application of severe scientific standards. It disposed ruthlessly of a number of honored myths and

promptly won recognition as a standard treatise, but contrary to the promise of the title, its field was limited to social organization, neglecting such vitally important subjects as magic and religion, moral ideas, folklore and art. About two years later appeared Dr. Goldenweiser's *Early Civilization*, based largely upon the study of peoples still living in primitive conditions and providing an approach to a general textbook of cultural anthropology representative of modern views. After an excellent, but too brief introduction on man, the nature of civilization, and the evolutionary theory, Part I is devoted to accounts of five types of primitive culture, "Early Civilizations Illustrated" by a kind of case method. This very helpful feature is followed by the longest Part, II, describing the industry and industrial art, religion and magic, and society, of early man. Part III presents a learned and matured, but rather difficult exposition and criticism of the theories of Spencer, Frazer, Wundt, Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, and Freud, regarding the ideas and mental processes of early man. There is a good Bibliographical Guide. The treatment is clear, sane, temperate; the style easy and at times conversational, especially in the really important footnotes. There are helpful diagrams and pictures.

It is an interesting fact that the books of Kroeber, Wissler, and Wilder appeared within a few weeks of each other. Dr. Wissler, who is curator-in-chief of the division of anthropology in the American Museum of Natural History, in 1921-22 delivered in various parts of the country a number of lectures on the scope and problems of contemporary anthropology, and out of these grew this really notable book on the relation of civilization to man. Culture is used to mean mode of life, and thus Eskimo and Hottentot have distinctive cultures, quite as much as have the contemporary "civilized" peoples. It is a pioneer work in its comprehensive and systematic study of the factors and processes of human culture in the light of recent scientific knowledge, emphasizing the biological background, clarifying the relation of psychology to anthropology, attempting a searching analysis of comparative racial capacities, and stressing the economic factor. There are good bibliographies by chapters, and a few useful diagrams and pictures. The style is clear, simple, and effective.

Professor Kroeber gives us at last a comprehensive general textbook of present-day anthropology. After a brief introductory chapter on the scope and character of the science and its relation to others, the author gives us a series of chapters on fossil man, living races and the problems of race, language, beginnings of civilization, heredity and climate in relation to civilization, diffusion, parallels, house building, the week, the alphabet. These are followed in the latter two-fifths of the book by a sketch of the growth of a primitive religion, and the stories of prehistoric cultures in the old world and the new, summarized with remarkable skill and judgment. There are a number of excellent charts and tables, and a few pictures, but unfortunately no bibliographies.

Professor Wilder's book, the work of a zoologist, though not of the outstanding importance of the others under review, is a useful elementary work, but marred by some errors and by singularly bad proof-reading. The six chapters are devoted to the chronology of prehistory, materials and methods, European prehistory, prehistory of Africa, Asia and the Oceanic Islands (too brief), prehistory of the two Americas (disproportionately long, yet a mass of information to be thankful for), and known types of prehistoric man. There are clear and effective accounts of the development of many important implements and weapons and of the early use of metals. More than a hundred excellent and well-chosen pictures enrich the book, and the chart of primitive European cultures (page 138) is well made and highly useful; it will prove interesting to compare it with those in Duckworth and Osborn. The bibliographical data supplied in footnotes do not justify the omission of lists of references by chapters or subjects.

With such books available the teacher of history or of other "social studies" is now in a position to avail himself of the exceedingly fruitful and suggestive researches

in the field of anthropology with corresponding benefit to his students. If he is a careful and thoughtful reader with a touch of wholesome skepticism he will not fail to notice the controversial issues that survive and to exercise caution in his applications to the problems of contemporary society; but neither can he fail to note how primitive our civilized society remains!

G.

SOME RECENT SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

We and Our History. By Albert Bushnell Hart. (Boni and Liveright), The American Viewpoint Society, New York, 1923. 315 pp.

Our United States. By William Backus Guitteau. Silver, Burdett and Company, New York, 1923. 644, xxv pp.

The United States. By Emerson David Fite. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1923. 489 pp.

The third book of the series featuring lavish illustration, published by the American Viewpoint Society, is Albert Bushnell Hart's *We and Our History*. Its equipment of pictures and maps is impressively stated on the title-page, but that statement gives little idea of the effect produced by the mural decoration of each double page. Of the printed story, thus overshadowed by what is usually a supplementary feature, there is little to say; it will serve as a text, although it is neither accurate enough to satisfy the critical student, nor simple enough in its phraseology for the foreign-born citizen who is learning the language. As a help to Americanization teachers, or as an aid to public school teachers who realize how much difficulty arises in children's minds because they do not picture, or do not picture correctly, the things they read about, this book should prove invaluable. Its pictures give a variety of images needed for the understanding of American history; its sets of maps give convenient data for board work in the teaching of territorial history. Many of the pictures are reproductions of old prints, and furnish in themselves interesting comment on the history of American illustration. An example is the picture of Pocahontas saving Captain John Smith, on page 40. A modern realist might not consider the well-dressed, well-groomed Indians of Victorian illustration exactly reliable as imaging agents for educational purposes; but as records of the artistic taste of white men at the time when the story of Pocahontas was considered an important part of American history, such pictures are worth a great deal. Teachers will wish that the author had given the creators and location of some of the famous pictures used, since they have now become almost as interesting as the events they represent.

A notable feature of the book is its naïve air of national self-gratulation, assumed, one supposes, for the benefit of the new Americans for whom especially it is written. The building up of patriotic attitudes is carried consistently through the book. At the end, with several other documents, is a particularly useful arrangement of the national Constitution as it now stands. In spite of much careless work included, the book will more than justify its place on the schoolroom shelf.

The 1923 revision of Guitteau's *Our United States*, and Fite's *The United States* are both well printed and attractively bound. Fite's account is of a conventional kind except for the introduction of a descriptive chapter on American plants and animals, which is very interesting and touches a phase of history commonly neglected. The early period is over-emphasized in this book: eighty per cent. of the space, by pages, is taken up with the story of the years preceding 1865. There is an old-fashioned stress on war, and war details are introduced which seem unnecessary and inappropriate in so brief a text. The illustration is mainly by means of old-fashioned wood cuts, which might have been more interesting had their origin been explained.

Guitteau's text is on the whole remarkably well balanced in its treatment of subject-matter, which is clearly and simply set forth in excellent English. It is explicit in places often treated hazily by textbook writers, and its summaries

of results of national crises are particularly good. The maps are excellent, and the pictures, of which there are many, cover a wide range of interest and are integrated with the text by means of brief notes. There is an attempt at least to incorporate some of the historical contributions of the last few years, although one looks in vain for many points established by recent work in Southern and Western history. The period during which new knowledge remains the exclusive possession of scholars grows shorter constantly, but is always too long. The book is marred by a partisan treatment of the World War, achieved less by inaccurate statement than by a failure to state all sides of questions. The paragraph (p. 589) on war pacifists, for example, while making no untrue statement, ignores the many folk who, like the Quakers, are honestly opposed to war as a means of settling disputes under any conditions. The children in our schools are entitled to scholarly and dispassionate treatment of all historical fact, no matter how recent, in their textbooks; they will not have to seek for propaganda, patriotic or otherwise.

FRANCES MOREHOUSE.

University of Minnesota.

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Home and Community Life: Curriculum Studies for the Elementary School. By Gertrude Hartman. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1923. 200 pp. \$3.00.

The Elementary School Curriculum: Department of Superintendence, Second Yearbook. National Education Association, Washington, D. C., 1924. 296 pp. \$1.50. Paper.

Starting with the thesis that the curriculum is an instrument for interpreting to the child the world in which he lives, and should therefore be organized in terms of social life, Miss Hartman offers in this book a series of study outlines with carefully selected readings, as a suggestive guide for the development of such a curriculum. The outline is divided into two parts: I. How We Live Today, dealing with the family and the community; II. Social Evolution, outlining a study of primitive life, pioneer life, the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, and change in American life since 1800. Both in the preface and in her introductory chapter, the author states that her goal is training for intelligent participation in a social democracy, and that, with Dewey, she believes this goal can be reached only through the introduction of group activities as the articulating core of the curriculum. The present volume does not describe such activities. It neither presents the topics in teaching sequence nor indicates the grades in which they might be introduced. It does offer to the teacher who is attempting to organize her curriculum in terms of life activities, but who is so often lacking in the necessary social background, valuable suggestions and references to readily available material for giving the activities initiated real educational worth. The value of the bibliographies would have been increased by indicating for each book the grade levels at which it could be read. Presumably the author has not attempted to include all the types of subject matter which elementary school children would require in carrying out the varying activities necessary to equip them to meet successfully the complex demands of modern life, but rather has offered suggestive material for some of the essential aspects of the elementary curriculum.

The reader who wishes to make a rapid survey of the present status of theory and practice in curriculum construction in the elementary school will find the N. E. A. monograph very useful. Part III, prepared by the Research Division of the N. E. A., is the most valuable part of the volume. It is based upon analyses of recent courses of study, books on the curriculum, and communications from school people throughout the country who have had recent experience in curriculum construction. The topics and problems treated are: aims of education; present modes of determining curricula; who shall make the curriculum and how; essentials of a course of study; facts about time allotment to subjects; differentiation of the curriculum

to meet community and individual needs; the project and the curriculum; the platoon school. A valuable feature of this section of the monograph is the list of authors quoted and books referred to under each topic treated. Other divisions of the monograph present articles by representative educators on such topics as: the machinery and organization for devising, revising and supervising the curriculum; recent developments in curricular practice; and "The Trend of the Curriculum."

B. L. G

BOOK NOTES

We and Our Work, by Joseph French Johnson (The American Viewpoint Society, Inc., New York, 1923), is obviously an effort to popularize economics. Its appeal is to young people. Half of the space is given to very fascinating pictures of the economic life of the people of the United States and the remainder to descriptions of the different factors that affect the getting and using of a living. The pictures, which could hardly be better chosen for the purpose, are alone worth the price of the book. The description is very simple and is fairly free from the error into which a university professor is likely to fall, namely: "talking down" to his youthful readers. Occasionally the author has felt the difficulty of harmonizing the terminology of the economist with that of the man of the street. Both pictures and descriptions call attention to some of the existing evils in our economic organization, and some changes are suggested, but the general impression left on the reader of the book is that the author favors the *status quo* with certain modifications. It might have been better to give the reader a more complete understanding of the defects in our industrial organization. There is little effort made to introduce the readers into the refinements of economic theory. The law of supply and demand is treated in about 250 words. There are twenty chapters in the book dealing with the important aspects of industry, with a closing chapter on "Through Co-operation to Peace and Prosperity." There are some illustrations or cases given at the end of the book, as well as questions covering the reading in the different chapters.—W. E. WELD.

Prohibition is responsible, among other things, for the book entitled, *The Inquisition, A Political and Military Study of Its Establishment*, by Hoffman Nickerson (with a preface by Hilaire Belloc; Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1923, xvii, 258 pp. \$4.00). The original aim of the author (as stated in the dedicatory note), to establish an analogy between Thirteenth Century Inquisition and Twentieth Century Prohibition, thereby (it is to be assumed) giving Twentieth Century Prohibition an historical black eye, is evidenced in the completed work only in the Epilogue, by reason of the fact that the author, in the process of his study, found himself rather sympathetic toward the Inquisition, his intended analogy thus losing much of its condemning force. This Epilogue, consisting as it does of a vigorous attack against Prohibition, often quite irrespective of the subject of the Inquisition, with an occasional unconvincing attempt to draw the two together in a parallel, forms a veritable vermiform appendix attached to an otherwise able reworking of a period in Medieval history. This period, as suggested by the subtitle, is not primarily the period of the Inquisition itself, but that immediately preceding it. Indeed, except for the introductory survey of thirteenth century civilization for the benefit of the general reader, and a chapter on the Mendicant Orders and the Inquisition, the book is entirely a description of the Albigensian Heresy and Crusade. It is in this description that Mr. Nickerson makes his real contribution to historical literature. Under his pen medieval warfare becomes comprehensible, and medieval motives reasonable. He sketches in clear, broad strokes, battles and campaigns and personalities, all of which is in happy contrast to the detailed and often confusing pen-work of that other teller of the Albigensian tale, the indefatigable Lea. His work is frankly based almost entirely on secondary authorities. These, however, he has read rather widely, and in general used critically.—MARGARET B. FREEMAN.

Intimate Character Sketches of Abraham Lincoln, by Henry B. Rankin, is a pleasant, reminiscent book that adds little to the author's previous work, his admirable *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*—in fact, parts of it are reprinted from the earlier volume. Mr. Rankin was a law student in the office of Lincoln and Herndon, where, during several years, both partners treated him with great kindness and intimacy. Though, as is natural, a Lincoln enthusiast, he is always a sane one, and some of his observations are highly suggestive. For example: "All his pictures are unsatisfactory, or only partially successful as portraits of the real Lincoln, to those who knew him as he appeared in his most earnestly delivered speeches, or in intense, almost inspired moments of private conversation. He had at such times an indefinable distinction of character entirely his own. This peculiarity of personality has been shown only within restricted limitations by any of his photographs. They are only shadowy presentments of the outer man. You see the outline in them as you see our battleships at rest, and from the outside. The man, the inner Abraham Lincoln, in action behind the guns, is not revealed in any photograph."—(J. B. Lippincott Co.) N. W. S.

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